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APPENDIX

BY DANIEL MAC CARTHY (GLAS) ESQ.

IN the perusal of the Geraldine Documents recently published in the pages of this Journal, through the liberality of Messrs. M. and A. Fitz Gibbon the attention of the reader has been almost exclusively occupied by the acts and fortunes of the great central figures of the historic group therein presented to him; but there were other actors, and other incidents in the mournful drama traced in those pages which merit scarcely less his attention; and there exists other material than that already made use of, for completing the history of the melancholy struggles with which, after a glorious career, and rare prosperity lasting through four centuries, the dignity, scarcely less than regal, of that illustrious Anglo-Norman House sunk to its extinction.

It has been deemed undesirable to interrupt the course of these Geraldine documents by the introduction into their pages of foot-notes unavoidably so long as to imperil, in the memory of the reader, the continuity of the narratives they are intended to elucidate and develop; it has therefore been judged more convenient to leave the original MS. unencumbered by frequent annotation, and to place in an appendix such additional matter as it is hoped may render more complete a narrative, of which the accessories possess nearly as much interest as the leading subject. Of the minor but still exciting incidents of the great Geraldine tragedy which lasted through a desolating party-war of several years, through two rebellions, and kept Munster in convulsion for a century, none possess greater historic interest than The disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, at the death of Thomas the 12th Earl; The part taken by the two principal members of the family of the Fitz Gerald of Cloyne and Ballymartyn in the Desmond wars; The episode of the young Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald; and The half-hearted rebellion of James Fitz Thomas, called the Sugan Earl. These four chapters of the history of the Fitz Geraldts are now offered to the reader, with the mere premonition that, as they are purposely compiled from materials not hitherto published, or not till now brought together under notice, they are rather supplementarily than directly narrative.

CAP.: I.—THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION TO THE EARLDOM OF DESMOND, A. D. 1534–1540.

When in the Spring of the year 1520, Henry the Eighth sent into Ireland, as his Lieutenant, one of the ablest statesmen, one of the bravest soldiers, and, by blood, the noblest of his subjects, Thomas Earl of Surrey, to govern such portions of that land as, by courtly benignity, it was usual to style his Kingdom of Ireland, it pleased his Majesty to instruct him to make it his first care “as well by policie as by exploite of warre to repress the temeritie of his Irish rebelles there,” and he added “forasmuche as we perceyve right well that the powers of our Irishe enmyes be assembled in soo many sundraye places, soo ferre distaunt the oon from thoder in woddes, and other strong groundes, that it is not possible for fotemen to encounter theym for resistance of their invasions, but that of necessitie ye must be furnished of moo horsemen for that purpose,” he was graciously pleased to place at his command a body of a hundred light horsemen under the leading of the son of Sir John Bulmer. Such was His Majesty’s first solicitude, and such the means furnished for remedy of the mischiefs which caused it; how proportionate to the evil the reader will speedily perceive. But the rebellious spirit of his Irish enemies was even a less anxiety to His Majesty than another evil to which he directed the notice of his Lieutenant with equal earnestness; this was the private feuds of certain great English families to whom he should naturally have looked for assistance in controlling the Irish enemy, and keeping peace in the country, but whose quarrels led them constantly into alliances with the septs around their respective borders, not seldom into armed participation in their party conflicts, and whose irreconcilable discords and variances kept the country in a state of endless disturbance. Chief amongst these family feuds in the province of Munster was that between the Fitz Geraldts and the Butlers. Traceable to the utmost limits of the memory of man, since the settlement of their

families in Ireland, their rivalries and contentions had passed as an inheritance from generation to generation, and continued growing in fierceness and frequency till they reached their climax on the fight of Affane, and their extinction in the blood shed in the cabin at Glennaguinty. The earnestness of the language with which the king recommended these matters to the attention of his Lieutenant and the Council was justified by the magnitude of the mischiefs they occasioned. "And with your politique and substantiall direccion taken by your mutuall consentes for the sending of the Archbishop of Dublin, our chancelour there, to Waterfourde, for the pacifying of such discourdes, debates, and variaunces betwixt the Erle of Desmond [James the 11th Earl, who had lately succeeded his father Maurice], and Sir Piers Butler [who claimed to be Earl of Ormond on the death of Thomas the 7th Earl, in 1515, but was not acknowledged till 1538], we geve unto you our speciall thankes; and right comfortable newes it shulde be unto Us, to here and understande of a goode concourde betwixt theym, so that they being soo pacified mought, with their preysaunces, joyre, and attende personally with, and upon you our Lieutenante, for your better assistance in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enemyes." But lest his Lieutenant should make an indiscreet use of the powerful body of light horse placed at his disposal, His Majesty cautioned him that "at the begynning, politike practises might doo more goode than exploite of warre, till suche tyme as the strength of the Irishe enemyes might be infebled and diminished, as well by getting their capitains from theym, as by putting division amonges theym, soo that they joyne not togeders." And for this purpose he added that, if his Lieutenant thought "Our writtings to theym, or any other thing to be by Us doon, may be advaillible to further and advaunce those matiers, upon knoulege of your meyns therin, we shalbe glad to spede, and doo the same with all convenient diligence." In compliance with these royal instructions the Earl and his Council immediately occupied themselves with the endeavour to give effect to them. Their first proceeding was to select certain of their own body to repair to Waterford, where the rival Earls of Desmond and Ormond were invited to meet them, and urge them to an instant, and thorough reconciliation. The mode of dealing with the Irish enemy would much depend upon the success of this first attempt at peacemaking.

It was not long before the Lord Lieutenant had to report to the King the result of the first effort made in accordance with his instructions; the politique practices entered upon with the Irish enemies led to the discovery of a condition of things throughout the entire realm of Ireland which greatly surprised the Lord Lieutenant, and must have equally astonished and afflicted the Royal personage, to whom a detailed description, free from all courtly ambiguity of phrase, was at once despatched.

"Pleas it your Moost Noble Grace," the Earl of Surrey wrote to the King on the 23rd of July, 1520, "to understand that The Archebischop of Dublyn, the Vycount of Gormanston, the Lord of Trymlettiston, and the Chief Justice retourned from Waterford the 10th day of this moneth, where, with mouche difyculty, they have takyn a day of truis between the Erles of Desmond and Ormond, to endure until Candylmas next comyng; and have takyn the othes of theym truly to serve your Grace, and in like wise they have takyn the othes of the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, Sir John Fitz Gerot, Sir John of Desmond, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Cormok Oge [MacCarthy, 10th Lord of Muskerry], Sir James Butler, Sir Edmund Butler, and Sir Piers Power."

This list of powerful Lords of countries, ranged on the respective sides of the rival Earls, and the difficulty with which they could be kept asunder for even six months, was the earliest insight which the Lord Lieutenant obtained into the social condition of the King's Irish subjects, and of their notions of the obedience they owed to their sovereign.

It seems also to have excited in his mind some doubt of the sufficiency of the body of light horsemen placed at his disposal, for any great exploit of war against the Irish enemy, or even to compel a prolongation of the truce between the Earls, who had assembled around them all the Chieftains, Irish and English, and all the fighting men of Munster; but not only had he doubts of the adequacy of this force, but its efficiency was matter of equal doubt; even its leader had not his entire confidence. On the 25th of September, 1520, the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland wrote to Cardinal Wolsey:—

"And where the Kinges Grace hath now sent hither oon hundrieth horsemen with Sir John Bulmer, yeving us auctoritie to discharge as many of his Grace's Garde as may pay the wagis of theyme, after 9d. a man by the day, we have not yet seane theym all; for many of theym arryved not tyll yesterday, which by the reaport of our servauntes, and others that have seen theyme, bee not soo good personages as were here before, and many of theym right ill horsed, and amonges theym all not passing 30 speres. Oure desire was to the Kingis Grace, and you, to have furnysshed us with Northumberland speres, and with summe Walsh speres, and not with bowes on horsbak."

On the 3rd of November, 1520, he reported to the same minister the intention of the Council to remodel this royal force so as to obtain more effectual service for the money which it was costing his Majesty; his own professional opinion of these horsemen accompanied his report:—

“I have been so bolde to discharge 50 of the horsmen that came with Sir John Bulmer, which were no worse in apparaunce than they bee in dede, wherof I sawe good lyklyhode in O’Byrnes cuntry this last weke, where I made oon invasyone. And with the wagis of the said 50 I have wagid 20 good English horsmen and 30 of this cuntrey, which shall doo mouche better service then they. Hors-mete is soo skante to be gottyn in this cuntrey that it is thought by me and the counsaill here that it is better to wage for this wynter, good horsmen of this cuntrey, which have provysion for their horses, than to kepe suche rascalles as the others were.

“Also please it your Grace to understand that Sir John Bulmere hath, seth his comyng into this land, been sore vexed with siknes; and forsomouche as he doubtith that he shall not perfectly recover his helth in this cuntrey I have therfor lycensid hym to departe. The Kinge’s Grace shall save by his beeing hens £45 a yere; and for the nombre of persons wee bee here, we have ynagh of suche yonge capityayns.”

Quickly following upon the Lord Lieutenant’s scheme for the reorganization of the Royal forces, there reached the hands of His Majesty a despatch most minutely describing the condition of the country which this force was intended to overawe and keep in order. His Majesty’s Kingdom of Ireland contained, as we know, four spacious provinces, with millions of acres of fruitful land, with many noble rivers, some walled towns, countless castles, and a warlike population. Within this realm the King’s sheriffs were received, and the King’s writ travelled through the entire extent of six halves of counties, viz., “Halff the countye of Uriell, by estimac’on; Halfe the countye of Meath; Half the countye of Dublyn; Halff the countye of Kildare, and halff the countye of Wexford.” Within this royal zone lived the “King’s English subjects,” around it, and beyond it till land and sea met, lived numerous populations variously designated; but classified generally as “the King’s English rebels,” and “the King’s Irish enemies.” In the happier regions prevailed the King’s law; beyond it “no law at all, but only the lewd usage of Tanistry or Brehon law,” a mere assemblage of traditional juridical decisions of Bards and Ollams, administered, not in any becoming court of justice, but upon hills, and in glens under the open heavens; traditions which had been collected eleven centuries before by Laoghaire the King, and Dubhtach his Arch Brehon, and reduced by St. Patrick to conformity with the law of the Gospel which he was then preaching.

“And fyrst of all,” said this remarkable treatise on the state of Ireland, “to make His Grace understande that ther byn more than lx. countryes, called regyons, in Ireland inhabited by the Kinge’s Irishe enemyes—some region as bygge as a shyre, some more, some lesse, unto a lytyll—where reygneith more than lx. chief capityaynes, that lyveyth only by the suerde, and obeyeth no other temperall person, but only to himself that is stronge; and every of the said Capityaynes makeyth warre and peace for himself, and holdeith by suerde, and hath the Imperiall juryisdiction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person Englyshe ne Irishe, except only to such persones as maye subdue hym by the suerde.

“Also, ther is more then xxx. greate captaines of the Englyshe noble folke that folowyth the same Irishe ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and peace for himself, without any lycense of the King, or of any other temperall person, saive to him that is strongest, and of such that maye subdue them by the suerde.

“Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe language, and of Iryshe condicions, except the cyties, and the walled townes. Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes, for the more partye, would be right gladde to obey the Kinges lawes, yf they myght be defended by the King, of the Iryshe enemyes; and by cause he defende them not, and the Kinge’s Deputye maye not defende them, therfor they are all turned from the obeysaunce of the Kinges lawes, and lyvieth by the suerde, after the manour of the Iryshe enemyes; and though that many of them obey the Kinges Deputye when it pleaseith them, yet ther is none of them all that obeyth the Kinges lawes.”

This description of Ireland was enlarged fourteen years later, when Sir William Skeffington was Lord Deputy, by certain “Artecleis and Instructions to the King for his land of Ireland,” which contained truths even more unsatisfactory.

“Item, Whereas your Grace is subjectes in every shire wher any of the Erles of Kildare, Desmond, or Ossery have dominion, beth now attendant and dyevydyd betwix them, so that if your Grace or your Deputye dyd intend to envade any of your Irishe rebels, you must make petition to eury of the said Erldes, for your own subjectes: and if it please them your Grace shall haiv men and streinthe to go and envade wher it shall please your

Grace or your Deputie; and when they will have no envacion made then your Grace must abyde ther forther plesur."

But the outer regions were not exclusively inhabited by the Irish enemy; there were poor families of English or mixed descent engaged in the pursuits of husbandry; there were also walled towns capable of some defence, but with no means of protecting a foot of ground beyond their walls; these populations were, as we have seen, well inclined to obedience to the King's laws, but as the King's governors were unable to protect them, they were reduced to purchase protection from the Irish Chieftains whose countries surrounded them. Forty pounds yearly appears to have been the sum paid by the larger counties. O'Neill received that sum yearly from Uryell; O'Brien of Arragh the same from Limerick, Cormac (Oge) M'Teige, whose lands surrounded Cork on all sides, and whose numerous castles frowned around it, and almost within sight of its walls, received also forty pounds. How these Irish Chieftains kept faith with the tributary cities and counties, and how the king's English subjects fared in their occasional disputes when set to rights by enlightened lawyers within the Pale, and by rude Brehons without it, the reader may judge. And first in matters of law.

His Majesty was informed "ther be as many Justyces of the Kinges Bench, and of the comyn place, and as many Barons of the Exchequer, and as many officers, ministers, and clerkes in every of the said countye, as ever ther was when all the land, for the more part were subgett to the lawe. Wherefore the saide subgettes ben so grevously vexyd dayly with the said courtes, that they be gladd to sell ther freholdes for ever rather than to suffre alwaye the vexation of the said courtes, lyke as the freholders of the marches, wher the Kinges lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexed by extortion that they be gladd in lykewise to sell ther landes and freholdes to such persons that compelleth them, by means of extortion, to make alienation therof rather than alwaye to bere and be under the said extortion. And so, what with the extortion of coyne and lyverye dayly, and wyth the wrongful exaction of osteing money, and of carryage and cartage dayly, and what with the Kinges great subsidye yerely, and with the said trybute, and blak-rent to the Kinges Iryshe enymyes, and other infynyt extortions, and dayly exactions, all th Englyshe folke of the Countys of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meathe and Uryell ben more oppressyd than any other folke of this land Englyshe or Iryshe, and of worsse condition be they athyside than in the marcheis."

If such were the lot of the King's loyal subjects resident close to the chief city of his government, and under the eye of his Lord Lieutenant, what might we expect it to be in the wild regions of glen and mountain, or under shadow of fortresses where the will of a Chieftain was supreme law? What their condition really was, would almost suggest the possibility of there having existed some inchoate elements of justice in the Brehon traditions, and some humanity in the hearts of these wild Chieftains. The King was informed that "many an Irish greate captayne kepeyth and preserveyth all the King's subyetes of their rome and countreys in pease, withoute any hurte of ther enymyes, so that ther landes be tylyld, and occupied with the ploughe as well as ever they were; and the said capytaines hath the over hande of ther enymyes Englyshe or Iryshe on every side, as O'Broyn, The great McCharrye [Mac Carthy Mor], Marck Charry Ryvaghe [Mac Carthy Reagh], Cormack Oge [Mac Carthy of Muskerry], and O'Donolde; in as much as some of those hath tribute yerely of Englyshe men; and this notwithstanding all ther comyn folke, by their Iryshe rule and ordre, be but poor captaynes. Every Iryshe captaine defendeythe all the subyetes, and the comyn folke, within his rome, fro ther enymyes, as muche as in hym is." Such was His Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland when the Earl of Surrey assumed its government.

It may have occurred to the reader that the King had not provided his Lieutenant with sufficient force for much exploit of war, should such be required; but His Majesty had been informed that "All the wylde Iryshe, with all ther galloglagheis, and Iryshe Scottes called Ketryns, have no more power ne myght to stande in the fylde, ne to mayntayne ther warres ageynst the Kinges subgettes, then have the wolffe ageynste lyon, or the kyte ageynst the fawken." The knowledge of this great superiority of the royal forces over any that his Irish enemies could bring against them will account for the limited numbers of the horse-men sent under Captain Bulmer into Ireland to scour the woods, and strong grounds where it was not to be expected that footmen could follow the rebels.

The endeavour of the Lord Lieutenant to reconcile the Earls of Desmond and Ormond was not wholly unsuccessful; for he had taken their oaths to maintain peace amongst their followers and allies for six months. Not six weeks elapsed before he was compelled to write to Wolsey: "To advertise your Grace further of newes here; there is summe bissyenes betwene the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond, and their parttakers, which I have sent to pacify; and yet have noon answer, whate shal come thereof. Shortly I entend to goo in thoo parties to set them in good order. All Irishmen of this land bee at peas, and shew theym silf desirous of my good wil. I cannot assure your Grace of long contynuanee thereof,

for there is small trust in their promyses." What the Lord Lieutenant had next to report of the business between the Earls was not long delayed. Two months of the Truce had not elapsed when the following despatch, bearing the signatures of the Lord Lieutenant and his Council, was placed in the hands of the King.

Sept. 25, 1520.—THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING
HENRY VIII.

Pleas it your most noble Grace to bee advertised, that this day came unto me a messenger from the Erle of Ormond with a letter expressing of a great discomfiture lately gevin upon the Erl of Desmond, on friday last past, by Cormok Oge, McCarry Reagh, and Sir Thomas of Desmond, as by the contynue of the said letter, which I send unto your grace herein closed, pleyner it may appere. And as the messenger reaporteth, in the sayd Cofflyet were slayne the said Erl of Desmondes party xviii. banners of galoglas, which bee commonly in every baner lxxx. men, and the substance of xxiv. baners of horsemen, which bee xx. under every baner, at the leest, and under some xxx., xl., and l., and emonges others was slayne the said Erl is kinneman Sir John Fitz Gerot, and Sir John of Desmond takyn, and his son slayne, and Sir Gerald of Desmond, another of his uncles, sore wounded and takyn; with many others wherof the certainte yet apperith not.

Sir oon ways it is no great hurt that he is punyshed, for of late he hath lent more to the counsayl of Irishmen then of me your Graces Lieutenant, and of others of your Gracis Counsaill here; and contrary the direccion lately takyn at Waterford by my Lord of Dublyn and others, hath invaded thoos that now have overthrowne him, which bee swoore to your Grace, and would not forbere soo to doo for divers commaundementes sent by me your Graces Lieutenant, to him, upon his alligance to desist. A nother way his discomfytur and losse may bee right hurtfull: the moost part of theym that overthrow him bee Irishmen; and I feare it shall cause theyme to wex the more powder, and also shall cause other Irishmen to take pryde therin, setting the less by Englishmen. Notwithstanding the said Cormok, who was chyef capteyne is the man of all the Irishmen of the land, save O'Downyl, that I thynk wold moost gladly fall to English order; and undoutbid yf the said Erl had not invaded his cuntrey, and brent and destroyed the same, he wold not have attemptid any thing against him; and this discomfytur was in the same Cormok Oge's own cuntre.

Writin at your Castell of Dublyn the 25th day of September.

Your most humble subjectes,

(Signed)

JOHN STILE.

T. SURREY.
PATRICK BERMINGHAM, Juge.

The description of the state of Ireland already referred to must have prepared the King to receive without much surprise the news of such an encounter as this just related. The private quarrels of great chieftains, either Irish or English, were usually settled without troubling the King or his Lieutenant; the humiliation of either party was rather a gain to the Royal authority; and though such encounters were not usually encouraged, they did not provoke the interference, otherwise than by counsel and mediation, of the authorities. Within six weeks the victor in the recent engagement himself waited on the Lord Lieutenant, presented by the Earl of Ormond, as was also his relative the young MacCarthy, Chieftain of Carbery, who had been with him in the fight. The former was the most distinguished and powerful chieftain that his race had produced since the days when Finin of Ringroan scattered the FitzGerald in the battle of Callan, a battle scarcely more sanguinary than that which had just taken place between these same clans. Cormac Oge was the chieftain who has been already mentioned as the Lord of Muskerry to whom black mail was paid by the city of Cork, for sufferance to exist in peace under the walls of his Castle of Blarney. What his power was, may be gathered from the narrative of the battle lately fought, and the anxiety shown by the Lord Lieutenant to attach him to the Royal cause. Young MacCarthy Reagh was the son of Eleanor, sister of the great Earl of Kildare, then prisoner in the Tower of London; and notwithstanding his modest demeanour in presence of the Lord Lieutenant, speedily proved himself equal in pride and petulance to his cousin, Silken Thomas. An expression in the despatch of the Earl of Surrey that these chieftains were of Ormond's band, must have excited some misgiving in the sagacious mind of Cardinal Wolsey: for although Surrey reported well of the loyalty of Ormond, it must have suggested the likelihood of there being other chieftains *not* of his band, but of his rival's, whose loyalty was by no means so assured.

Nov. 3, 1520.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to be advertised that sith my last writing to your Grace, I, and others of the Kinges counsaill being at Waterford, did our best devour to bring the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond to good concord and amytie, and hath theyme both solempnely sworne to kepe peas, and to help echel other in all their lawfull causes; and also they bee bound with collateral suerties with theyme soo to doo. There came thidder unto me Cormok Oge and McCarty Reagh, twoo Irish Lordes of great power, and were brought unto me by the Erl of Ormond, for they bee of his band; and they have put in their pledgis in my hand, to kepe peas to the Erl of Desmond, and his adherents, and to be orderid by me in all causes between theyme. They bee twoo wise men, and I fynde theyme more conformable to good ordre then summe Englishmen here. I have mocioned theyme to take their landes, and to hold theyme of the Kinges Grace, and they wol bee content soo to doo, soo they may bee defended.

"Written at Dubline,

"The thirde day of November.

April 27, 1521.—SURREY TO WOLSEY.

"Pleas it your Grace to understand;—

"Also a great Captyn of Irishmen called Cormoke Oge, dwelling nigh Cork, who is a sadd wise man, and very desirous to become the Kinges subgiect as an Englyshman, offering to take his landes of the Kyng; but whate yerely rent he wol gave I am not certayne; desyryng also to bee made a Baron, and to come to parlamentes and counsayles, hath shewed me a charter graunted to his grauntfather by the Kinges noble progenytours, under the great seale of England; the veray copy wherof, at his request, I have sent nou to your Grace, duely by me examyned, to the entent, by your Grace's favours, the same may bee conferred by the Kinges Grace, which may encourage him to the better service. Suerly he is substanciall of his promyse; and without any sauconduct hath come to me, tending his service, and very willing to confourme him to the Englysh order; and hath no parcell of land wherunto the Kinges Grace is entyteld; wherfor I beseeche your Grace to tendre his desire in obeyning the said confirmacion. And Almighti God have your Grace in his moost tendre tucion.

"Written at Dublyn the 27 day of Aprill.

"Yours most bownden,
(Signed,)

"T. SURREY.

(Superscribed.)

"To My Lord Legate's Grace."

Although the effect of the defeat of the Earl of Desmond, and the slaughter of so many of his followers, was to render him much less a cause of anxiety to the Lord Lieutenant; and although the Earl of Ormond had given constant proof of his loyalty by attending in person, and with numerous followers in various minor exploits of war, against the northern Irish chieftains, and Irish Scots, the Earl of Surrey had not been in Ireland longer than a year and a month,—he was appointed Lord Lieutenant on the 20th April, and landed with his family in Dublin, on the 23rd May—when he arrived at the painful conviction that the country would never be brought to due subjection but by a re-conquest; and so, on the last day of June, 1521, he wrote to the King:—"After my poure opinion this londe shall never be broght to goode order, and deu subjeccion, but only by conquest." It had been made evident by the late battle that the similitude of the lions and kites was not to be universally relied upon as a law of nature, or as figurative of unfailing fact, and he found himself compelled to propose to His Majesty an increase of his force to not less than 2,500 men. He informed him that at the time of writing "all the Irishmen off the west parties off this londe had confedered, and bounde to gyders to do all the hurtes they might unto your Grace's poure subjectss here." He concluded his despatch—"Fynally, in the most humble wise that any poure subject can thynk, I beseech your Grace to command me, your poure servaunte, to serve your Grace in Inglande, or in any other place then here, where my poure well-wyllyng servyce may appere."

This petition he continued to urge until he received permission to deliver up his authority into other hands.

On the 18th of June, 1529, James the Eleventh Earl of Desmond died; his latter days had been employed in a treasonable correspondence, at one time with the French King, and at

another with the Emperor Charles V., to induce those monarchs to invade Ireland; and when he died, he left, with the Earldom, an unfinished intrigue with the latter, which was instantly taken up by his uncle and successor, Thomas, the Twelfth Earl; and as readily made known to his own Sovereign. This was barren knowledge to the King, for he had no means of punishing the traitor. Nothing, however, came of the Earl's design, and the King, without hesitation, established him in his Earldom, merely endeavouring by friendly phrases to induce him to send his grandson and heir to His Majesty's court, which, with phrases equally amiable, the Earl showed the impossibility of his doing. What loyalty would certainly not have obtained from the Earl, his own peculiar circumstances extorted from him; and they proved of more avail to the King's service than many companies of light horse; they procured his peaceable behaviour during the whole time of his Earldom, and that reconciliation which the King had so greatly desired between the rival potentates of the south of Ireland. The Earl was aged, he was the third of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl of Desmond, beheaded at Drogheda sixty-two years before. He had had an only son, Maurice, who had been married to a daughter of the White Knight, by whom he had a son James. The validity of this marriage, and, consequently, the legitimacy of its offspring, was denied by the great body of the FitzGerald. The parties, they said, were too near of kin; the legitimate successor to the Earldom would one day be John, the fourth son of Thomas. Maurice died, and the aged Earl his father saw before him a certain contest for succession to the Earldom, as soon as he should himself be taken. The means instantly adopted by this able man to secure the succession for his grandson, though not calculated to gain the good-will of his clan, he knew would secure for him support even more available. His first care was to solicit, by professions of fervent loyalty, the King's favour for himself, and the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of his grandson. His second was to seek reconciliation and indefinite truce with the rival house of Ormond; and the third, which proved the most politic of all, to obtain a daughter of Cormac Oge in marriage for his grandson. James the Eleventh Earl, his predecessor, had left an only daughter, and this heiress Joan, and this lady was given as wife to the Earl of Ormond.¹ Thirty years later, when the Earldom of Desmond had passed into other

¹ This lady was daughter and heiress of James 11th Earl of Desmond. She was married, first, to James 9th Earl of Ormond, by whom she was mother of Thomas the 10th Earl; secondly to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Marshal of Ireland and Lord Deputy. Sir Francis died in 1550, and the lady set her heart upon a hasty marriage with the young Earl of Desmond. Whether this desire proceeded from love or from ambition we can scarcely tell; but from "certain instructions written by Lord Chancellor Allen to his brother to declare to the Government of England," we learn that it was an old longing of the lady, and that, could she have had her way, she would have sought this marriage in her first widowhood, but it was judged matter of State policy to prevent it then; the vigilance of the Chancellor discovered the revival of the desire now, and he warned the Lords of the Privy Council that if they did not quickly interfere to stop it, she would surely accomplish it this time. Either the officious warning of the Chancellor was disregarded, or the matter was indifferent to the Lords, or the wit of woman "in soche a case" was quicker than the wisdom of the Statesmen who had interfered and thwarted her before, for the dowager accomplished her purpose, and married the Earl.

"Remembrances for my broder Thomas Alen. Forthe.—After my Lorde of Desmonds toke an excuse of his com'ng so as we were in desperation of him, whiche I iudging to com' (as it ded in dede) of a displeasure betwixt my ladie of Ormond, and my ladie of Desmond, I tempered the matter so, be it spoken w'k'wte boast, as at last he came, and after his dep'ture to rescue a castell (as ye knowe): advertised by me of the lorde Justice dethe, he returned, and by p'suasion made to him by me secretalie, he came w't us to the buriall, and woll repaire w't us to Rosse (which his doeng no doubt shall do grete good in this perillous tyme); wishing

that he sholde have bothe thanks, and some gift of apparell, or other token sent him from the King's Ma^{ty} bothe to anymate him, and confirme him in his well doeng.

"Sixt.—Ye shall (if it shall be demanded of you), declare the maner of the Lorde Justices [Sir Francis Bryan's] dethe, which I have amply declared unto you, myself lying in his house, and being then w't him; and where it had been reported that he sholde dye of a purgac'on it is not true; for he wolde by no meanes be p'suaded to take any medicine. I was at th'op'peneng of him, wherupon the physicians, by the serche of his hart, and other his entrailles, defnyed that he died of gref; but wherof so euer he died, he dep'ted veray godly. I have the rather made menc'on of his dethe, because when he bade me farewell, he desired me to haue him com'ended to all his frends in Ingland, and speciallie, saithe he, to my Lorde Bryvaie Seall [Lord Cromwell] my Lord of Warwick, and Mr. Herbert, and pray them to be good to my son the poore boy; whiche my charge I com't to you to doo, if ye can atteney to their presens, to declare it.

"Seventh.—Ye shall put my Lords in remembrance howe upon the late Erie of Ormonds dethe it was suspected as thing wolde happen indeed, that the Countes of Ormonde intended to marry therle of Desmonds Sonne and heir; whereby therle of Ormonde being not in age sholde not oonly be so hundreded, that when he came to age he sholde not be able to serve the King as his auncesters had done; but also the same sholde be a mean to make all his rule incyvil and Yrishe: For avoyding wherof she was sent for into Inglande, and bestowed as she was [i. e. as wife to Sir Francis Bryan, Lord Justice of Ireland], and now she is againe at lib'tie, and as farre as I can p'ceyve, as moche (if it be not more) bent to marrye that waye then she was befor: whiche if it shold take place it were not

hands, and the fires of the ancient feuds were rekindling, a similar attempt was made for their extinction, and, strange to say, the same lady, Joan, daughter of the Eleventh Earl, who had been given as a peace-offering to the rival Earl of Ormond, was then restored, for the same sacred purpose, to the family from which she had been taken, and was remarried to Gerald, the Fifteenth Earl, the great rebel. At the time of her last marriage she was for a second time a widow, and was mother to the Tenth, or Black, Earl of Ormond, who in the end effectually extinguished all possibility of further rivalries in the blood of his mother's husband. The following letter was the Earl's endeavour to gain the good-will of the King for himself and his grandson, even whilst he was evading the King's wish for the presence of his heir at court.

May 5, 1532.—THE EARL OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Mooste highte and mighty Prince, and my mooste redupithe Sovereigne hyghe Lorde, I in my mooste humble wise recommaunde my unto your mooste noble and haboundaunte

only a playne undoeing of therle of Ormonde, thinking it better for the King to haue two Erles then oon, and therto somewhat coequall as thei were before, but also if the saide Erle (whom I take neu'theles to be an honorable subiect, after his educac'on, and oon that must be cherished) or his sunne, sholde digresse from their duties, thei had so instreynd the King in Ireland, as the remedy wolde be bothe dangerous and chargeable, as it maye be p'ceyved at the eye of him that will consider the charte of Ireland, with the said Erle's rule, and this added into it. I iudge undoubtedlie the saide Erle wol be a suter in it, and p'chaunce hereafter deasire this cunsell to write in his favors, for whiche cause I thought good to p'monishe my Lordes beforehande, wher in if his desire be graunted the p'elles before menc'oned ar lyke to ensue; and playnely to denye him is the mean to loose him, or make him strange; and upon this wth myself premeditating, the daie after her husband's dethe, I toke oportunitie to com'une wth hir to comfort hir, and so takyng som' occasion, what honor God had called her to, in this wolde, first to haue to husband so noble a gentleman as this was, by whom she shold enioye an honest portion of lyving for lytle more then a yeres payne, remembering hir of the goodness of the King, and the Lordes to preferre hir to the same, I advysed her not to marye w^{thout} his Graces licens by the aduice of his noble counsell, adding diuerse p'suasions more to confirme the same, so as in thende she p'mised me upon hir honor that she wolde lyve sole for oon yere; and sithens, before p'te of this counsell she p'mised neuer to marye w^{thout} soche licens, and that she wolde by hir wryting to the Lordes confirme the same; neuertheles I wolde my Lordes (if thei take hir mariage of any moment) trusted a woman's p'mise no further then in soche a case it is to be trusted; but the soner thei p'vent hir the better."

Unfortunately the evil passions of the rival Houses were not appeased by this marriage; and when, in 1563, the Earl of Desmond was summoned to England to answer for his open warfare with his rival, and was for a while kept there "sequestered of his liberty," evil tongues were not wanting to attribute his restraint to the intrigues of his wife.

The Countess appealed at once to the Queen's principal Secretary of State, and requested no less than the testimony of all the members of the Privy Council to assure her husband of the untruth of such a charge:—

"Right hono^rable after my right hartie commendac'ons may it please the same. Yt is beateen in my L. my husbandes hedde by certein yll

disposed p'sons that hath bene aboute his L. that I shulde be the chief staye of my L. my husbande in Englande, in taking my sonnes p'te against his L. towching their variaunces, and that I shulde haue wrytten also to yo^r hono^r in that behalf, which thing if I dyd, yo^r hono^r knoweth, and if I dyd it nott, and that yo^r hono^r may suppose I am giltyes in the p'miss', I shall most hartelly beseeche the same that of yo^r courtesie throughe myne olde acquayntaunce ye wolde woodsaulfe, at this my contemplac'on, to stande so moche my frinde in my defence and p'gac'on, if ye thinke it so good, as to procure the residue of the queanes Mat^{ies} mooste honorable Counsaill to declare to my said L. whether euer I sent to any yo^r hono^r any suche p'res or whether euer ye p'ceived from me by any kynde of meane to be that wooman that procured any suche thing against my said L., wherby he may be brought owte of that susp'con so conceived against me in the behalf of my said sonne, for their variaunces, w^{thout} my des'te. As nowe I protest before God I never thought ne ment any suche thing against my said L., butt alwayes wysshing them bothe to be p'fight frinds, as two whome I love as myself, whose humble reaqest eft sonnes most hartelly beseeching yo^r hono^r t'accept in good p'te, butt also to extende yo^r favo^rable goodnes to my said L. for his dispatch over in her Mat^{ies} favo^r & yo^r hono^r. And then not doubting, god willing, his L. following good con'sail shall doo good s'vice to her highenes in thies p'ties. And once he being here shall nott waunte to satisfie his creditors at thannes of his adherents and others his s'vents and freinds, that being in dispayre of his coming ar not wylling to sende him any thing over as farr as I canne lerne. That knoweth the Lorde, who send yo^r hono^r long lyf wth thencresse of moche hono^r, wth my hartie commendac'ons to my good lady yo^r Bedfellowe. From Youghall this xii of Julii 1563.

"Yo^r hono^r assuredly com'mande in that

"I may,

"JOHAN DESMOND,
"ORMOND & OSS.

(Superscribed). "To the right honorable Sr William Cicill Knight chief Secretary to the Queanes Mat^{ies} and one of her gracs most hono^rable Privie Counsaill.

(Dorso). "Countes of Desmond to my M^r. 22 July, 1563."

By this lady, who died in 1565, the Earl had no issue.

Grace. . . For I have submite myself to your Grace, as I dude unto your noble direst fadere of fames memory, whose soule Jhesu pardon; trusting for to shaue my self the same man accordinge to my bounden duetie of alleageaunce, during my lyf, with fullfilling of all my promessis to my power, savinge one, of the which I desseyre your Grace my to pardone, while that it is recesynde and necessary, and more ease for your Grace, and for my, so to dowe, thene otherwise; as, be all experiaunce it may be well knowne; as heir after doth exsprime; that is to say: wher as I have promist for to send myne herre unto your Grace, I, being well stricken in age, having none othere but only he, my lordshipe, under your Grace, beinge ferr asondere, having sundry mortall enemyes, considringe myn anciente, and his tendere aige, your Grace may considere, that we bothe has moche adowe for to keepe our oune; and if he were absent, bothe in danger of the see, and other myschaunces, I shoulde hade moche adowe, then I may well away with. Also that I wile fere that your Grace wile take more pain in the defence of hym in his absent thene to soffore hyme, as he is, for a while. At your Grace is commaundement at all tymis.

"Written at Youghal the 5^e day of May, the

"24^e yere of your noble rainge."

In 1534 the writer of this letter died; and then burst out, as it was long foreseen there would, a conflagration through the whole of Munster, a fierce contest for succession to the Earldom of Desmond, in which were engaged every family of following, or influence in the province. The claimants were apparently three; for the Earl of Ormond pretended some claim to succeed in right of his wife Joan, the daughter of James the Eleventh Earl; but, in reality, the claimants for whom men were ready to shed their blood were James, son of Maurice, grandson of the late Earl, and John the late Earl's brother, fourth son of Thomas the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. The Annals of the Four Masters have enumerated for us the various chieftains who took part in this furious struggle; and when are added to them the names of the Butlers and O'Briens, and the multitude of petty septs owing allegiance to them, the reader will perceive that no name historical in Munster was wanting in the general uprising of all the septs and populations, whether English or Irish, in the south of Ireland.

"The chiefs of his army [that is, of James, the son of Maurice, the heir to the Earldom, say the annals], were MacCarthy Cairbreach, Cormok Oge, Cormac the son of Donogh Oge MacCarthy Lord of Ballu [Duhallow], the White Knight, the Knight of Glyn, the Knight of Kerry, Mac Maurice, O'Connor, and the sustaining tower of the army, Mac Carthy Mor [Cormac Ladrach]. John the son of the Earl [the rival claimant] went to complain of his distress to the Dalcaics [the O'Briens], for there existed friendship and affinity between them; for More, the daughter of Donogh, son of Brian Duff, was the wife of this John."

The King had long before been made aware of the irregularity of succession to coveted dignities in his realm of Ireland. The same pen that had conveyed to him so much unpleasant information on the state of that kingdom, had written—"Also the sonne of eny of the said capytaines shalle not succeed to his fader, withaute he be the strongeist of all his nation; for ther shalbe none chief capytayn in eny of the said regiones by lawfull succession, but by fortmayne, and election; and he that hath strongyst armye and hardeyst swerde among them hath best right and tytill."

But Cormac Oge, justifying the character given of him by the Lord Lieutenant, of being "a sadd wise man, and very desirous of becoming the Kinge's subject," before entering into actual battle with a man supported by all the power of the O'Briens, and the greater part of the FitzGerald, and knowing in his heart that the chieftain of a race must derive his right from the free election of his followers, not from the accident of primogeniture, determined to appeal to the King in favour of his son-in-law. Of this intention, and of the opinion of the Council in Ireland respecting the matter in contention, His Majesty was made aware, before any letter of Cormac Oge could reach him.

April 9, 1535.—LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Pleaseth it your Magestie to be advertised, that the Iryshe man, who sued to your Highness at Mr. Secretories, hath enfourmed me, that ther is a prist commyng with letters to your Grace from James of Desemounte, of your land of Irland, and from one Cormoke Ogge, a knight, whois daughter the saide James hath married; and the effectes of the letters shold be, to make sutes to your Highness that the saide James mought be Erle of Desemount, as heir to his graundfather, late Erle of Desemount; and hath likewise enfourmed me, that one Sir John Decemount, Knight, uncle to the saide James, pretendeth to be Erle; which Sir John, as this Irisheman reporteth, in this tyme of hostilitie in your land of Irland, hath put his good endeavour in assisting your subject, the Erle of Ossery, agaynst the rebell, and

traytour Thomas FitzGarrard [Silken Thomas,] and hath gotten part of the countie of Lymeryk, and diverse of the castelles of the saide rebell and traytour. And this Cormok Ogg and Jemes daily warr upon the saide Sir John Decemount, wherby he is the lesse able to pursue the said traytour, bycause he is compelled to defend him self and his countrey agayne them; so that the opynyon of this Irisshe man is that whatsoever sutes shalbe made to your Magestie by the saide Jemes and Cormok Ogge, or the saide Sir John Decemount, that your Highnes shold, in this tyme of contencion, in your saide land of Irland, abstayn to graunt your favour to any of theym, to be Erle of Decemount; but to giff the prist that shall come to your Highnes on this behalf, faire dulce wordes, till your Grace maye knowe more of theire demeanours, and service towards you in your saide land."

At the time this letter was written the Lord Deputy Skeffington despatched the force at his command, consisting of the hundred bowmen on horseback, which had been originally sent into Ireland under Captain Bulmer, but which the Earl of Surrey had since remodelled by discharging fifty of their number, and replacing them by an infusion of Welsh speers, twenty good English horsemen, and thirty fighting men picked up on hire in Ireland, under the command of Stevyn Ap-Parry, to observe the proceedings of the claimants and their followers, then face to face, and ready for battle. The instructions of Ap-Parry were to place himself under the orders of Lord James Butler, who, at the head of a powerful force of his own people, was about to endeavour, even by force if he should find it discreet to attempt it, to prevent collision between the hostile parties; we fortunately have the benefit of Captain Ap-Parry's account of that expedition, and in it incidental evidence of the jovial life of a soldier of fortune in those stirring times.

Oct. 6. 1535 —AP-PARRY TO CROMWELL.

"Right werschypfull, my dewte rememberyd, Plesythe yt yower Masterschyp to be advertized, that apone my Lord my Masters [Lord Leonard Gray's] departynge with Thomas Eygh Garrett [Silken Thomas], owght off Ierlond into Ynglond, he commandyd me, beyng captyn of a hunderythe of hys men, that I schold take my company, and too go in too my Lorde of Osserys cuntry, with my Lorde James Butlere, and too be at hys poyntment to gooe upon the Kynges enymes, where hys plesuer was to apoynte us, tyl my Lorde my masters cummyng bake agayn. . . . And so my Lorde Jamys plesyr was that I schold prepare my self in a redynes to go with hyme to comen with a young gentylman, chalengys to be Yerle of Desmond, and with Cormak Oge, and with meyne other, and to se O'Breyn's cunterey. . . . The first nyght frome Dungarvyn we went onward ower jurney to a toyne callyd Yowghol, wher we had very good cher, and onestly recevdy; and ther they did sell a galond of Gasgoyn wyn for ivd. sterling. The second nyght we campdy by a castell, the wyche is callyd Cahermon, and ther my Lorde Jamys nusteryd his ost. . . . And upon a hyl half a myll a thys syde Corke, ther my Lorde Jamys commandyd me to put my men in too aray, and he lykwyse commandyd all hys captyns too put ther men in too aray. And apone a hyl, halffe a myle ore more, Cormak Oge was with hys oste, and soo downe came Cormak Oge in to the valey with a certyn, and my Lord Jamys with a certyn, with hyme, as ther was apoynted and soo they met too gether, and fyl to parlyng; and after they had parlyd, my Lorde Jamys went in to the towyn with all his ost, and the Mere of the town ther dyd receive hym, with hys bretherne, in ther skarlet gowns, and ther typpettes of velvett, after the Englysche faschyon; and was very glad of us Ynglyschmen, and mad us the beste chere that ever we had in ower lyves; and on the morow came Cormak Oge in to the towyne end, to my Lorde Jamys, and brougth with hyme the ywng gentylman the wyche chalengys to be the Yerle of Desmond; and so thys yeong mane spekes very good Ynglysche, and kepthe hys here and cap, after the Ynglysche faschion, upone hys hede, and wolde be, as far as I can perceave, after the Ynglysche fashion. And heys sayng was as thys, that he never ofendyd the Kinges Grace; and that londs that he hade, ore schold have of ryght, came by the Kings yeff, and that he was a treu Ynglysche mane borne, and wold be content with all his hert, yf Sir John a Desmond, hys uneyl, wold come and submyt hymeself un too the King, and hys counsell, and to open his tytyll, as he wold doo; then he wold be content to come in too Yngland, ore in too Yerlond; or wher so ever the Kyng, or hys counsel woyl apoynt hyme; he ys very well content withall. And as for Cormak Oge, he is very well content that he shold soo doo. More over ther came in to my Lorde Jamyes, one, the wyche ys callyd my Lorde Barrow, [Barry] that cane speke very good Ynglysche, the wyche is a very young man, not past 17 or 18 yere of age, that is a gret enherytor and yff he had ryght, and leydy very sore too Cormak Oge, and to one Macarte Ryghe, the wyche is one ilaw to Cormak Oge, and ys my Lorde off Kildars syster-sonne. And soo the awn-

sware of Cormak Oge was thys, that he wold be sworn too doo the Kyng trewe servys, and too put in hys plegys too abyde the jugment of the Depute of Ierland, or the counsell of Yerlond, between hym and eny man in Yerland, that can ley to his charge that he hathe done hyme eny wrong in londs or goods. Macarte Ryagh came in upon a saff cundewte, and hys anneswar was, that he wold not be sworn unto the Kyng, nor put in no plegys for to doo eny man eny ryght, that he had don wrong to; for that, that he hathe won with hys sworde, he wyl hold yt with hys sworde. And then my Lorde Jamys, beyng sore movyd at hyme, sayng untoo hyme, yt schold be un to his payn; he makyn awnswar, he wold a byyd ytt; with a prond cowntenance, lyke the Garadyns, as ever I saw.

"Therefore, my Lorde Jamys thowght best to recoyll bake agayn, and to bryng the Desmontes, and Cormak Oge, with hys company, to a stay, ore that he wold pase eny further. And so in Leymeryk we had very good cher; but nat nothyng lyke the cher that we had in Corke.

"This day came in Sir Jhon a Desmond, and he is a very old mane, and cane spek very good Ynglyshe, and as far as I can perceve, hee hathe bene full of myscheff, and ys yet at thys ower; and hys awnswar ys thys—"What schold I do in Ynglond to met a boy ther? Let me have that Iresche horson Cormak Oge, and I wyl goo in too Ingland before the Kyng."

"From Waterforde,

"The 6th day of October.

"Your poer Bedisman,

(Signed)

"STEVEYN AP. PARRY."

In the month of June, 1536, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland wrote to Cromwell that "Sir John of Desmond had attayned into his possession the hole Erldom of Desmonde, and all the powre of the Englishrie of Mounster; that he was combyned with O'Brene and others, the Kings auncient enymies, intending by their aydes, forcible to retayn the same agens the Kinges will and pleasure, dayly consaulting togethers, and preparing theymselves to abyde playne batell ayenste the Kinges poure."

In the middle of the same month Walter Cowley wrote to the same minister, "Sir John of Desmond is dead, and also Cormok Oge,"—brief notice of the withdrawal of two personages on whose conduct depended the lives of so many of their countrymen!

The death of Cormac Oge is thus recorded by his own people:

"The age of Christ, 1536. (Annals of the Four Masters).

"Cormac Oge, the son of Cormac, son of Teige Mac Carthy, the choice of the Irish of Leath Mogha, died, after having gained the victory over the Devil and the world; and was interred at Kileera."

Into the high place and pretensions of Sir John of Desmond stepped immediately his eldest son, James, who was supported by the choice, if not by the formal election, of his clan. With the death of Cormac Oge, fell all hope for his son-in-law, James, the son of Maurice. This unhappy claimant at once repaired to England to carry his complaint to the King; and to the King also wrote James Fitz John, the son of the late so-called Earl of Desmond, showing how little claim the fugitive could have either to Royal favour or to the Earldom; for that he was of base birth, and himself a rebel, as his father and grandfather had been, as His Majesty well knew.

March 3, 1539.—JAMES FITZ JOHN OF DESMOND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"In moste humblewise shewith unto your mooste excelent Highnes, youre true and faithfull subjecte, James Fitz John of Desmond, right inheritor of the Erldome; that where James Fitz Morice, lattalye pretending to be heir to the said Erldome, usurped the name, rule, and auctorite of the said Erldome, and commytted dyvers abhominable and detestable treasons to your Highnes, and published and declared dyvers sklanders and traitorous wordes against your noble person, and commytted many and grevous homycides, murders, theftes and robberies, upon your poor subjectes; the forsaid John, father of your suppliaunt, then beinge in youre moost noble service, made their tyvill unto the said Erldome, as next heyris to the same Erldome, for that the said James Fitz Morice was, and is bastarde, for soo moche as there was noo lawfull mariage solempnyed between the said Morice his supposed father, and the mother of the said James Fiz Morice, being daughter to the late White Knyght deceased, whoo was cossyn germaine to the said Morice; and for the specialtie of the sayd tytill, the father of your said suppliaunt submytted hym to the determynacion of William Skeffington your late Deputie in Irelande, and your consaill there; whereunto the said James Fiz Morice beinge requyred, utterlie refused to stand to, and obey the same;

therefore your said suppliant, and his father, by the comandement of your said late Deputie, as well for the atteyning of his saide right and tytill, as also for the punysshment of the abhominable treasons, and other detestable crymes and offences commytted by the said James Fitz Morice againste youre Highnes, and your subjectes, with such power as he could make, invaded the said James Fitz Morice, and fynally expelled hym from the said Erldom; and the same dignite, tytill, and honoure used, with his owne right, and so died, beinge seasid and possessid in the same Erldome. After whose dete the said Erldom descendit to your supplaunt as sonne and heyre to the said John, and your said supplaunt hath entred and occupied the same accordingle. And for as moch as the said James Fiz Morice whooe, beinge in power and streyngt, used himself in treason, and robberies against your Highnes, and your subjectes, as is aforesaid, now beyng, by your said supplaunt and his father expelled, and put from his said possession and rule, thynkinge by fayr wordes, frendship, and colorable hydinge of his said detestable crymes and offences, and humble submyssion of hymself, which came never but by compulsion, to achive his purpos, hath repaired to your Highnes. therby trustinge to be by your Highnes restored to the said Erldome, whereunto he hath noo tytill nee right. . . . and finally it may please your Highnes to ordre all things touching the premysis, soo that all tytill, contraversies, and debate that may or shuld hereafte growe, or ryse, touching the premysis, may by your Highnes discrete wysdom, and ordre, redounde to a good ordre and knowledge. And your said supplaunt shall dailie pray for the prosperous contynuanee of your noble estate long to endure.

“W ritten the third day of Marche,

“Your mooste bounden subjecte

“and Servant,

(Signed)

“J. of D.

(Superscribed)

“To our Sovereigne Lorde the Kinges mooste

“Excellent Highnes.”

The several despatches following trace the remainder of this struggle to its abrupt close by the death of the weaker claimant. The letter of James Fitz John, and his offer to aid in the pacification of Munster, excited more of sympathy in the heart of the King's ministers than the sorrows of the fugitive; and Cromwell made known to the Council at Dublin His Majesty's inclination to recognize the claim of James Fitz John, and “to benefit the young man [James Fitz Maurice] in some other way.” This sudden stroke of state craft was not in accord with the designs of the great House of Ormonde, or with the nicely poised policy of the Council at Dublin. In an evil hour these Lords persuaded his Majesty that, to keep the hands of Fitz John full of troubles of his own, and to force him to some show of submission, and reverence for His Majesty's laws, it would be expedient to send the fugitive — “the young man” — back to Ireland, and afford him some means of reviving his claim.

1537.—CROMWELL TO SENTLEGER AND OTHERS.

“After my right hartie commendations. This shalbe to adverte you that the Kinges Mageste hathe receyved suche another letter frome Jamys of Desmonde, as the copy wherof was sent to you enclosed in my letters, addressyd by Patryk Barnwell. And forasmoeche as by his wryting ther aperith not only a great conformyte in hym, but also an overture of reducyng of holo Monster within two yeres to a perfect obediens, having therunto the asistens of 300 men for that tyme. His Highnes desirith you to handell the sayd James in a gentyll sorte, declaring that His Mageste takyth his letters in gode parte; and to enter with hym upon the pointes of the same, that you may the better fele hym and his purpose; and, therapon devising with others, way what service he shall be abyll to do, if His Mageste shold take suche an order betwen hym and the young man, the said young manne's title notwithstanding, whiche most men do preffer, as he might contyneu in his extenuacion, which I suppose assuredly His Grace wolde do, what recompens so ever he shall make to this man, if the said Jamys will contyneu a feythfull obedyent correspondent to the lawes ther, and can therwith accomplishe that he wrytith, touching Mounster, if His Grace shold beare as moche with hym for the same as he desirith. And what you shall fynde herein His Graces pleasur is, you shall adverte accordingly. And thus fare you hartely well.

From Ampthill, the 9th day of August.

“Your lovinge Frende,

“THOMAS CROMWELL.”

JULY 20, 1538.—ORMONDE TO COWLEY.

"—— My Lord Deputie hath so strengthen this James (Fitz John) of Desmond, that all the Capitains of Monnester in effecte ar of his bande, and is of greater strength by meanes of my said Lord Deputie, then any Erle of Desmond that have bene these many yeres; so that this yong man, that is with the Kinges Majestie in England, is nevyr like to come by his enheritans: And as I am credably informed, he hath counsaillid the said James of Desmond to make werr upon mee, for suche landes as my sonn James hath in his wife's right, and have procurid Sir Thomas Butler to be of the same mynde, and to take his parte.

"(Signed),

P. ORMOND & Oss'."

"From Callan the 20 day of July.

"(Superscribed.)

"To my trusty servaunt,

"Robt. Cowley, at London.

1538, NOV. 28.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO CROMWELL.

"—— James the pretended Erle of Desmond (by dissimulation as it were) pretending to the Commissioners that he wold be ordered in all thingis to the Kinges pleasure, and so synnes my Lord Deputie's last journey into Mounster, hath obteyned suche a strengthe in Mounster as no Erle of Desmonde had there in no mannes remembrance: And therfor our advise is that the Kinge's Majestie sende ouer thother James, which is there, giveng him (which as farr as we hitherto can pereeyve, is the veray right heir) aide against thother; whereby the combynation and power of thother may be abated, and diminished. For moche more good wisdom and policie it is to put them two together, thoon against thother, whereby this pretended Erl may have his handes full, to loke to his awne defence, than to permitt him to aggregate to him self, all the strenght of the best parte of Ireland, wherwithe he may, at his sensuall pleasure, retorne upon the Kinges subjectes for we see no likeliode ne esperance of conformitie in him for the Kinge's purpose."

APRIL 4, 1540.—THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND TO KING HENRY VIII.

"Oure moost humble duetie premised to Yourre moost Excellent Majestie. Please it the same to be advertised, that we being in thiose parties above the water of Barrowe, dissolving, and surveying the religious houses, leasing out the same for certain yerlie rent to your Highnes, and executing Your Grace's affaires in mynystation of justice, redressing enormities, and establishing good order, worde came to us (which is veray true) that your Grace's servaunt James Fitz Morishe, who claymed to be Erle of Desmond, was cruelly slayne the friday before Palme Sondaie, of unfortunat chaunce, by Morishe Fitz John, brother to James Fitz John then usurpor of the Erledome of Desmond. After which murdor doon, the same James Fitz John immediatelie resorted to your town of Youghill, wher he was wele received, and entertheyned, and er he departed entred into all souche piles, and garrisons in the countie of Corke as your Majesties Deputie, with the assistance of your army, and mie the Erle of Ormond, obtayned before Christenmas last; and haith recovered nowe not onely the hole strenght of Mounister, besides the freendship of O'Breene, Oneyle, and O'Donyll, but also the Lorde Roche, the Lorde Barrye, the White Knyght, M'Carty Riaghe, and diverse other Capitains, befor, at the saide jorney allured from hym, to your said servaunt, wherby he was competently stronge to berde the other with a litle more helpe, and within short space had put hym in great daunger of exile. Soo as the hole title to the Erledome (as he thinketh) being nowe descended upon hym, and having more strenght than ever he had, your Majestie is at a great hindraunce for reformation or subjection of this parties. And howe he woll order hymself for keping of any peaux we be mouche in doubte. And as ferre as we can perceive, this fatall chaunce had not happed, if the twoo hundred archers of your Graces said army, left in the Town of Youghill, and in thois borderes, having commandement to remayne, and contynue there still for his aide, had not departed from thens to Waterford, distansing farre from any service or exploit to be doon. We have sende to have a communication with hym, and as we shall finde hym, if he comon with us, we shall advertise your Magestie at length. And thus we beseeche God to send your Majestie long and moost prosperous life. Written at your Cittie of Waterforde, the fourthe of Aprill; the one

and thirtie yere of your moost noble reigne. Your Majesties most humble Servauntes and Subjectes.

“(Signed),

JOHN ALEN,
GEOR: DUBLIN.
J.A. ORM & OSS,
WILLM. BRABASON,
ROBERT COWLEY.”

Mr. Lodge numbers this James, son of Maurice, as Thirteenth Earl of Desmond. *De facto* he was never Earl for a day; for immediately at the death of his grandfather Thomas, the Twelfth Earl, the succession was disputed; the title was assumed, and the lands of the Earldom seized by John, the brother of the deceased, the fourth of the sons of Thomas, the Eighth Earl, beheaded at Drogheda in 1467. Whether James Fitz Maurice was Earl *de jure* would depend upon the validity of the marriage of his parents; upon this point no legal sentence was ever pronounced. Cormac Oge, whose daughter he had married, and MacCarthy Reagh, who had married another daughter of Cormac Oge, and MacCarthy of Glean na chroim, married to a grand-daughter of that chieftain, and doubtless the White Knight, his mother's father, considered the marriage valid; but the aged John, and his many allies, declared it otherwise. Lodge makes John to have succeeded James Fitz Maurice, and thus to have been the Fourteenth Earl; this is impossible, for he died four years before him. John died in 1536; James was slain in 1540. On the death of John, his son James Fitz John, as the reader has seen, assumed his place. If James Fitz Maurice, the grandson of the Twelfth Earl of Desmond, is, as Mr. Lodge places him, to be considered the Thirteenth, then John, who disputed the Earldom with him, and died before him, could not have been Fourteenth Earl, or Earl at all! One or other of these claimants must be removed from Mr. Lodge's list. James Fitz John, whom he calls the Fifteenth, was in reality the Fourteenth, and Gerald, the great rebel, the Fifteenth, not the Sixteenth Earl of Desmond.

The death of James Fitz Maurice was called by the council of Dublin, in their despatch announcing it, in one passage “an unfortunate chance,” and in another “a murder,” and Maurice, who slew him, has been termed “Maurice the Murderer.” He was known also as Atotane “The Incendiary,” and “Maurice Duff, or Black Maurice.” We know enough of his long fierce career to be forced to admit that he was a turbulent, and probably a cruel man; but we have no reason to believe that the slaying of Fitz Maurice was murder in the odious sense in which the word is now used. James Fitz John had been for some time—four years—in actual possession of the Earldom of Desmond; and when tidings reached him and his supporters, that the fugitive had returned from England to renew the struggle, Maurice, “the firm steel of the Geraldines,” was despatched to meet him. Of the incidents of the encounter between the parties we have no detail. James Fitz Maurice fell, but whether by the sword of his relative, we know not.

Maurice Atotane outlived his victim twenty-five years; his career had been tempestuous through more than sixty of the four score years of its duration, and he had brought up his two sons to a life as stormy; the end of all was—*qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt!* In the year 1560, at the age of seventy-five, twenty years after his securing the Earldom of Desmond to his brother, by the slaying of James Fitz Maurice, and after his allying himself with the most powerful of his neighbours, by the marriage of his daughters, his turbulent and fierce spirit led him into constant quarrels with those amongst them, with whom, if with any, he might have been expected to live in peace. One of his daughters had married David Roche, Lord Fermoy, another Sir Dermot McTeig, Twelfth Lord of Muskerry, the grandson of his old enemy Cormac Oge; and a third, Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, chieftain of Carbery. No family alliance, no motives of common prudence were able to keep him on terms of good fellowship with these latter powerful chieftains. We read in the Annals of the Four Masters, p. 1581, that—

A. D. 1560.—“Thomas and James, the two sons of Maurice Duv, son of John, son of Thomas, the son of the Earl, marched with an army into Carbery. The son of MacCarthy Reagh [Donogh, son of Donell, son of Fineen, son of Donell] rose up on hearing the shouts, to oppose them. He had with him at this time Turlogh, son of Mulmurry, son of Donogh, son of Turlogh Mac Sweeny, of the descendants of Donogh More, from Tuatha Toraighe, with a company of fine select Gallowglassers; and they pursued the warlike bands [of the Geraldines] to the banks of the Banndon, where, on the margin of the river, directly opposite Inis-Eoghannain, they defeated this band of adventurers. Two or three hundred of the fine troops of the Geraldines were slain and drowned.”

The sword which Black Maurice had himself used so ruthlessly, and which had spared

him so long, failed not at last to find him. Mr. Lodge informs us that—"In the year 1565, when 80 years of age, preying upon the Mac Carthys of Muskerry, he was pursued, as he was carrying off his booty, by his son-in-law Sir Dermot M'Tadhg Mac Carthy, who taking him prisoner left him in the custody of four horsemen whilst he pursued his party, who in the mean time put him to death." The "Annals of the Four Masters" record his death in nearly similar terms, but they have not been able to suppress an expression of regret that so illustrious a life should have been taken for an offence so insignificant. "Maurice Duv, the son of John, son of the Earl [of Desmond], went upon a predatory excursion into Muskerry. The sons of Teige, son of Cormac Oge, son of Cormac, son of Teige MacCarthy, viz., Dermot and Cormac overtook him, and beheaded him, though the profit of sparing him would have been better than the victory gained by his death. He who was there slain was the firm steel of the Geraldines in the field of danger, the plunderer of his enemies, and the destroyer of his opponents." The account of the death of Maurice Duv given by O'Clery differs from that of Lodge; and, whilst it is not inconsistent with the narrative of the "Four Masters," it enters more into detail:—"Maurice, son of John, son of Thomas, son of Garrett, son of the Earl, was killed by Tadhg McCarprach, son of Tadhg MacCarthy, Lord of Muskraighe M'Diarmaida, and by his sons, viz., Dermot and Cormac; and Maurice killed Donough of the staff, son of Tadhg, son of Cormac, of one blow of a spear, and he drove a portion of his breastplate through his body with that thrust, so that he was dead, without soul, on the 7th of the ydes of August." When we consider that this fierce warrior was over eighty years at the time, we can well understand the truth of the remark of the Annalists that he was "the firm steel of the Geraldines, the slaughterer of his opponents." Be it remembered also, that Sir Dermot McTeig was Maurice Duv's son-in-law, and his sons Maurice's grandsons!

Of the two sons of Maurice Atotane, who led the unsuccessful predatory excursion into the country of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh, Thomas died the year before his father. He left an only son, who fell under the sword of Captain Zouche in the streets of Achadh-da-eo. His fate is thus recorded by the "Four Masters":—

A. D. 1581.—"The Earl of Desmond (Gerald the 15th E.) was encamped at Achadh-da-eo (the field of the two yews, now Agadoc, I. O D); and at that time an English Captain, namely Captian Siuitse, was appointed by the Queen and the Lord Justice to preside over Desmond and Kerry. This Captain marched day and night, with a party of Cavalry to make an attack on the Camp of the Earl of Desmond; and it was on a Sunday morning that he arrived at the Camp. The Earl, and all those who were with him, were at this time buried in deep sleep, and profound slumber; for they had remained vigilant, and on the watch all the night, and until that time. The captain immediately and alertly attacked all those whom he found standing in the streets, and slew them without mercy; nor did he wait for battle or engagement, but proceeded directly till he reached Castlemaine. The following were amongst the freeborn persons slain by the Captain at Achadh-da-eo on that day, i. e. Thomas Oge the only son of Thomas the son of Maurice Duv, the son of the Earl; Mulmurry the son of Donogh Bacagh, son of Mulmurry son of Donough McSweeney; and Teige the son of Dermot, son of Cormac of Magh-Laithimh [i. e. Lahiff's plain, now Mol-lahiff, a townland, in which stood a Castle belonging to a respectable sept of the Mac Carthys, near the village of Castlemaine, in the Barony of Magunity, and County of Kerry, J. O. D.]"

The career, and the heroic but bloody end of James the other son of Maurice Duff (the Arch-rebel), is well known to the reader; he left two sons, one of whom was slain in Ireland, and the other son died by shipwreck on the Irish coast when the great Armada of Spain came to so great confusion and ruin; thus perished the entire male posterity of Maurice Duv, whom the Lords of the Council called the murderer; and the Annalists of his country, the destroyer of his opponents.

CAP. II.—THE FITZ-GERALDS OF CLOYNE AND BALLYMARTYR, SENESCHALS OF IMOKILLY.

In casting their lot rather with the head of their house than with their Sovereign the selection of the junior members of the Fitz-Geralds, as of other Anglo-Norman houses, was ruled not by mere family influence, but by conformity with the usages of the people amongst whom they lived rather than with those of the land from which they sprang. In all but in name the Earls of Desmond had become in course of time as Irish, nay, it was proverbially said, more Irish than their Milesian neighbours the O'Briens and Mac Carthys. Not only had they so constantly allied themselves, during the four hundred years of their abode in Ireland, with the great Irish septs around them as that their Norman blood barely sufficed to tincture the Celtic current in their veins, but they had practically immersed the dignity of their English peerage in that of their Irish chieftainship, adopted the usages of tanistry, submitted themselves to its laws, and claimed its privileges. Foremost amongst these privileges or chiefries was the fatal right of "The Rising Out;" consequently when the Earl of Desmond raised his standard, whether in rebellion, or in mere quarrel with his neighbours, every member of his race, every dweller upon his lands was in theory bound to range himself around it. It was this assimilation of their nobility with that of the Milesian princes amongst whom they dwelt that rendered them the most powerful subjects in the realm, and was a constant temptation to them to rebellion; for it was this alone that enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force competent to contend with the armies of their Sovereign.

With his succession, described by Lodge as "commanding almost four counties, his lands extending 110 miles, and containing 574,628 acres of English measure," Gerald the 15th Earl of Desmond succeeded also to the fatal inheritance of a fierce family feud with his Anglo-Norman neighbour, scarcely less powerful than himself, Thomas 10th Earl of Ormonde. An effort had been made, from which success might have been fairly hoped, to appease these ruinous contentions; a marriage had been effected between the young Earl of Desmond and the Dowager Countess of Ormonde,¹ the mother of the head of the rival house; but ancestral rivalry and hatred were too virulent to be healed even by so intimate an alliance. The usual quarrels speedily broke out afresh, their Irish neighbours, as usual, took part in them, and Munster returned to its normal condition of party warfare, contempt of English law, and disregard of the Queen's authority. These quarrels were rendered all the more widely spread by the numerous alliances formed, by the principal parties in them, with the Irish around them. For example, Mac Carthy Mor, not then ennobled, had married a sister of the Earl of Desmond, to whom, by a marriage of the previous generation, he was so near of kin that he had been compelled to seek a dispensation for his marriage;² McDonogh Mac Carthy of Dowally was married to a sister of the second Countess of Desmond; Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh to a sister of James Fitz Maurice; Sir Dermot

¹ See a notice of this marriage in a note at p. 505, *supra*.

² On the 24th of March, 1558.—Robert Remon wrote from London to the Earl and Countess of Desmond, stating that "he was about to go to Cardinal Caraffa, Legate in Flanders or Brabant, for a dispensation for their daughter Onoria and M'Carthy Mor, because Cardinal Pole had not yet received his powers; and requested them to send him money for that journey." Eleanor, the wife of James FitzJohn, 14th Earl of Desmond, was a daughter of Domhnall-an-Drumainn Mac Carthy Mor, and sister to Domhnall Earl of Clancar; hence the necessity of a dispensation for their marriage. Onoria was not, however, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar's sister, consequently not his niece. She was daughter of Desmond's third wife Catherine, daughter of Pierce Earl of Ormonde, widow of Richard Lord Poer. The only offspring of the Earl of Desmond by Clancar's sister, his fourth

wife, was Sir James Sussex Fitz Gerald, who lost his life for complicity in his brother's rebellion. On the death of James Fitz John, Earl of Desmond, his widow remarried with Conor, Earl of Thomond; a marriage so fortunate as to meet with the approbation of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the "Instructions given 17 July, 1559, to Thomas Earl of Sussex, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland," was pleased thus to make known her approval. . . . "And for the marriage of him (the Earl of Thomond), with the Dowager the Countess of Desmond, we think he (the Deputy) should do well to make such convenient means on both parts, as to his wisdom shall seem convenient; for thereby (the said Dowager being, as we perceive, the sister of Mac Carthy Mor) may be made so good alliance betwixt the said Earl of Thomond and the said Mac Artye, as the Earl of Desmond should be occasioned thereby the better to govern himself towards us."

Mac Carthy of Muskerry, to another sister; The Lord Roche to another; Donal Mac Carthy na-Pipí—next in succession to the Chieftainship of Carbery—was himself half brother to Ellinor, daughter of Lord Dunboyne, Desmond's second wife, and was, besides, married to Margaret the daughter of the Earl's eldest, but disinherited, brother, Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald; and to complicate the political sympathies inseparable from such alliances, a brother of the Earl of Ormonde had espoused a sister of his rival of Desmond; besides which there had ensued numerous marriages of Fitz Gerald with the Earls of Thomond, and minor Chieftains of the O'Briens, so that when a "Rising Out" by the rival houses was proclaimed it speedily became a rising out of all the clans, English and Irish, in Munster.

Upon three several occasions had these haughty and irreconcilable adversaries been summoned to England, for "the settlement of their controversies." It was thought at the time, that Queen Elizabeth, in these investigations, evinced much partiality for the Earl of Ormonde, not precisely for the reasons assigned in Russell's Relation, but because "he had been brought up with that holy Solomon, King Edward VI."

If we may credit the despatches of Sir Warham St. Leger, the Commissioner of Munster, and of the Lord Deputy, Sir H. Sydney, Ormonde was to the full as contemptuous of the Queen's government, and as arrogant and intractable in the assertion of his family pretensions as his adversary. St. Leger wrote of him to Lord Burghley, "he is the moste hatefull person in this province that liveth; and of the Captains and soldiers so disliked as, were it not for their duties sakes, they wolde rather be hanged than follow him." On occasion of his first repair to England the Earl of Desmond had been "sequestered of his liberty" in the house of the Lord Treasurer; on his second arrival he was allowed to choose his own place of residence, and he appears to have chosen it in Walworth; on his third visit he was lodged in the Tower. It is by a letter from the Earl, written from that dreary residence, where he found his comforts measured by his means of purchasing them, and where he was lodged "without furniture, and left to suffer from the cold,"² that we receive our first introduction to one of the two distinguished Geraldines, a few passages of whose daring career it is the purpose of these pages to bring under the reader's notice. The letter was addressed jointly to "The Seneschal of Imokilly, and Mr. John Fitz Edmunds Dean of Clone;"

¹ Domnhal-na-piopaide (usually called Donal Pipí, or "of the Pipes," of wine cast ashore on his strand at Burren), the 8th Mac Carthy Reagh, and last of the Tanistic Chieftains of Carbery, was son of Cormac-na-haoine the 4th Mac Carthy Reagh, who was the eldest of four sons of Donal M^cFinin by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Gerald 8th Earl of Kildare, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1496, sister of the unhappy Gerald the 9th Earl, who died brokenhearted, as his Countess had also done, in the Tower of London, just in time to escape the sight of the execution of his five brothers, and of his son Thomas (Silken Thomas), the 10th Earl, who were beheaded on charge of high treason, on the 24 of Feb. 1535. Donal, being under age at his father's death, say English writers, was usurped upon by his uncles, Finin, Donogh, and Owen, who, one after another, by usage of Tanistry became chieftains of Carbery; he recovered his rights only at the death of his uncle Sir Owen. Cormac-na-haoine was married to Ellen, daughter of Cormac Oge, 10th Lord of Muskerry, who at the death of her husband remarried with Edmund Butler Lord Dunboyne, by whom she had Eleanor, 2nd wife of Gerald the great rebel, Earl of Desmond. Sir Donogh Mac Carthy, who succeeded his brothers Cormac and Finin, married Joan, daughter of Maurice Fitz Gerald, called Atothane, (the Incendiary), younger son of John the 14th (so called) Earl of Desmond. By this marriage Sir Donogh became brother-in-law to James Fitz Maurice the Arch-Traitor, and was father of Florence of the Tower of London, of Donal Moyle who was killed in Tirone's rebellion, and of Julia, the wife of Sir Owen O'Sullivan Mor.

² It may be interesting to the reader to see in what manner, and at what cost, the two illustrious prisoners, the Earl and his brother, Sir John of Desmond, were maintained at Her Majesty's charges, in her Tower of London. At the time when Sir Owen Hopton sent in the following document to the Lord Treasurer, they had been about a year and a-half in captivity, and it is pleasing to see that their comforts had materially increased, especially in the items of light and fuel, since that dreary October day when they arrived in London from Lichfield, where they had been constrained to stay a day on account of Sir John of Desmond's sickness from his sea voyage, and found themselves lodged without furniture for chamber or table, and where the cold was so excessive that the health of neither could withstand it:—

"Right honorable, and my singuler good L. for answer of yo^r last letter what charges hir Magestie was at monthlye for the dyet of Gerett Earle Desmond and his brother—

for him selfe — iijl¹ the weeke, for one gent — x^s the weeke, for his yeoman — vi^s vii^d the weeke, for fewell and candell — xx^s the weeke.

for the dyet and chargis of S^r John Desmond — xxvi^s vii^d the weeke for him selfe, for two yeomen eyther of them — vi^s vii^d the weeke—for fewell & candell — vi^s vii^d the weeke, wth for them booth cumeth weekelye to — vijl¹ iij^d iv^d.

Thus resting yo^r honors to commaunde, I humblye take my leave this viith of Marche A. 1570.

"yo^r whome you maye commaund.
"OWEN HOPTON."

and its purport was to desire them "to aid the Countess and James Fitz Maurice in collecting his rents and keeping the peace." That it was not without urgent reason that the prisoner wrote this, and many other letters pressing for the remittance of money, we learn from an application made by Sir W. St. Leger to the Privy Council, some time later, for "a warrant for the dietts of the Earle and Countess of Desmond, Sir John the Earle's brother, and their families, to the number of 13 or 14 persons;" they have not, he writes, had so much of their own as to buy them a pair of shoes, and are in despair to have anything out of their own country. How far the Seneschal of the Earle was at the time employed in "keeping the peace" the reader will have many opportunities of seeing; how far it was in reality desired that he should do so, he will have little difficulty in judging. Of the multitude of names pressing upon our notice from the first to the last day of these Desmond wars none occur with more frequency and but few with greater prominence than the names of the Seneschal of Imokilly, and his kinsman of Cloyne. Some confusion existed in their own day, and has been continued to ours, relative to the identification of these two personages; both were Fitz Edmunds, and both of Cloyne; and both were John Fitz Edmunds; but the sides chosen, by them in these troubles, and the results to their separate fortunes were widely diverse.¹ It will be convenient, in the few pages that follow, in order to avoid this confusion, to distinguish them, the one as the Earle's Seneschal of Imokilly, the other as Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne; there was another way of distinguishing them in their own day which was preferred by the authorities who had to fill many despatches with their concerns; the former they called the *rebel*, the latter the *loyal* Fitz Gerald. Both these men were remarkable for ability and energy; the one relentless in his persecution of all the Queen's friends, the other a model of fidelity, and resignation under sufferings and losses brought upon him by his loyalty. Admirable contemporaneous sketches of the characters of both these personages have come down to us from pens perfectly competent to portray them. One is effected by a few phrases vigorous and homely, as was the usual style of the artist; the other of more minute delineation, and florid colouring, for it was intended for the eyes of Majesty.

On the 4th of June, 1584, the Earl of Ormonde had occasion to write to Lord Burghley to defend himself from the accusations of a certain Lovel, whom he describes as "as bad a man, and as vainglorious a fool as may be;" and having disposed of these attacks, he turned to make intercession for a man who shortly before had "burned Nenagh and 12 more of Ormond's towns," and slaughtered nearly as many of Ormonde's friends as Ormonde had himself executed of his own and the Queen's enemies, and thus expressed himself:—"The Seneschal of Imokilly and the rest have lived very orderly since their coming in. *The Seneschal is valiant, wise, and true of his word.*" On the 2^d. of February, 1599, the Lords of the Council in England wrote to Mr. John Fitz Edmunds of Clone, commending his constant faith and affection to the Queen's service, and stating that Her Majesty doubteth not but he to whom Almighty God hath given learning and greatness which will make him despise all barbarous traitors, besides the strong motives of his natural duty and affection, will now strain his best endeavours to deserve the continuance and increase of Her Majesty's good opinion, and urging him to employ himself against John Fitz Edmund, the Seneschal of Imokilly ("Letters of Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew," edited by Sir John Maclean).

In like style are several more sketches of this distinguished loyalist. "Mr. John Fitz Edmunds, a Geraldine, is one that for his civil life, great hospitality, and relieving all the Queen's good subjects, as well English as Irish, is of the traytors so deadly hated that he is forced to forsake his country, and to commit himself to this town [Cork]; the only sound subject Her Majesty hath in Cork."

One paragraph more may be added to these sketches, by the feeblér pen of this present writer. Besides what has been already said of Mr. John Fitz Edmund, it may be

¹ Into the error of mistaking these personages, one for the other, fell Sir Richard Cox, and after him Smith, trusting to his guidance. After relating the extortions of Lords Roche and Barry, the Historian remarks: "Even the great men were under the same oppressions from the greater; for the Earl of Desmond forcibly took away the Seneschal of Imokilly's corn from his own land, although he was one of the most consi-

derable Gentlemen in Munster." Sir Warham St. Leger had reported the matter very differently to Sir Francis Walsyghnam. "The Seneschal, he wrote, lieth at his pleasure in the country of Imokilly without molestation, and gathereth up the corn of Sir John Fitz Edmunds, of Clone, and is storing it in the woods and caves." Even the Editor of the Calendar of the Irish Papers of Elizabeth felt puzzled by the similarity of name.

affirmed that he possessed the rare talent of reconciling the exhibition of a benevolent attachment to his rebellious chieftain with loyalty to his Sovereign. The peculiar subtlety of his mind enabled him also to demonstrate his fidelity to the Queen without much violation of his sept sympathies, or deviation from the duty he owed to his erring chieftain : thus he preferred to leave the corn in his fields, and his vast flocks—the entire harvest of Imokilly upon one occasion, and 3000 head of great cattle upon another—to fall into the hands of the rebels, rather than to withdraw from the President in the city of Cork the advantage of his counsel and his presence, and go in defence of his property. His learning and greatness, which had attracted the admiration of the Lords of the Privy council, enabled him also, through the several years of these terrible struggles, to retain “Her Majesties extraordinarie good opinion of him, by the constant exhibition of his faith and affection,” without forfeiting the confidence of his rebellious chieftain. Of this a remarkable instance will be later brought under the reader’s notice. Certain it is that both these Fitz Gerald’s were amongst the foremost men of Ireland in their day : the Seneschal as “the chief man of service amongst the rebels,” Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, as the words of his epitaph afterwards recorded, “*doctrinā clarus et armis.*” How the latter came by the anomalous title of “Dean of Clons” will be noticed hereafter. Smith informs us that the Fitz Gerald’s of Cloyne descended from a second son of Maurice Knight of Kerry, son of John Fitz Gerald, who was slain at Callan in Desmond. Their estate was given to them by their cousin, Thomas A n-Appagh. See Pedigree B., facing this page.

The possession of the office of Seneschal of Imokilly did not, however, proceed from any grant of Thomas A n-Appagh, but originated in a grant made in the year 1420, the 9th of Hen. V., by James Earl of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to James Earl of Desmond, who constituted him Seneschal for life of the Baronies of Imokilly, Inchiquin, and the Town of Youghal, which the former had purchased from the representative of the Tiptofts.—See p. 477, *supra*. These baronies being situated in the heart of Desmond’s country, the office,¹ if it needed to be exercised at all, naturally became hereditary in the Earl, or the Earl’s deputy. It was bestowed by the Earl of Desmond upon the Fitz Gerald’s of Cloyne, who, Dr. O’Donovan informs us, took the surname of Mac Edmund in the year 1420.

The latter years of the life of Mr. John Fitz Edmund are not unfamiliar to the reader of the “*Pacata Hibernia* :” he was a friend of Sir George Carewe, and his name is prominent in the narrative of the Lord President’s difficulties in the management of Florence Mac Carthy, when his intermediation was employed to persuade or intimidate that chieftain, his near relative, to submission and loyalty ; he was then old, between 70 and 80 years of age, knighted, and in the enjoyment of as much leisure and dignity as Presidential favour could procure for him ; but during what are called the Wars of Desmond he was in the vigour of life, and used that vigour both of mind and body in the service of the Queen, and in arms against his kinsmen. The Seneschal continued to trouble the despatches of the successive Lord Deputies, Presidents of Munster, and the Lord General Ormonde, from the first outbreak of the Geraldine rebellions till their termination by the Earl’s death. During the several detentions of the Earl of Desmond in England his country was governed, as was asserted, “by the Earl’s appointment and with the Queen’s consent,” by his cousin, James Fitz Maurice ; and during nearly the entire period of his rule, rebellion, or rather a series of petty rebellions—separate risings out of discontented chieftains—unconnected in their origin, but speedily running one into another, desolated the whole of Munster. There was the Fitz Maurice rebellion, of essentially religious origin and purpose, which speedily drew to itself the Clan Car

¹ What were the duties and emoluments of this important office, we learn from the following document :—

“Febry 11, 1571.—Carew MSS. Vol. 611, p. 170.

“The O’Farrolls.

“Indenture betwixt Sir Henry Sydney, President of the Council of Wales, and Lo: Dep. General of Ireland of the one part, and Eugene O’Ferrall. . . . 5th. The said Seneschal shall apprehend all traitors, felons, and other malefactors, and commit them to the common Shire-gaol of the said county, and prosecute them according to the laws. For his travail he shall have the moiety or halfendell of

the lands of persons attainted, and the goods and chattels of such felons as shall be executed within his rule; the other moiety to remain to the Queen. The Seneschal shall also have all frays, batteries, and bloodsheds that shall happen within his rule,” &c., &c. Could the Seneschal of Imokilly but have realized his perquisite to the “halfendell” of the lands of all persons who, within his jurisdiction, fell into rebellion, and all, or indeed a hundredth part of all frays, batteries, and bloodsheds happening within his rule, he would speedily have become the most powerful chieftain, and the wealthiest man in Munster.

rebellion, traceable with difficulty to aught else than to the levity and vanity of that Chief: there was the Thomond rebellion, arising from that Earl's anger against Sir Edward Fytton, the Queen's Governor of Connaught and Thomond; and, worst of all, the Butler rebellion, headed by Sir Edmund Butler, and other two brothers of the Earl of Ormonde, the General of the Queen's forces. This proceeded, as its authors believed, from the attempts of Sir Peter Carew to possess himself of the inheritance which should have descended to him from his ancestress, the daughter of Robert Fitz Stephen, but which had been intercepted in the days of Richard II. by usurping Irishmen, and subsequently, in part wrested from them by other usurpers, of English blood. A portion of this inheritance the Butlers had been accustomed for two hundred years to consider theirs, and Sir Edmund, the present usurper, had inherited their error, and indeed their perverseness also, for he refused obedience to the sentence of the Jury which had acknowledged the justice of Sir Peter's claim, and declared that he "would never submit to any such claim, or to any Lord Deputy who should endeavour to enforce it."

How, and by whom, the election to the rule of the Earl of Desmond's country was in reality made, and how these several rebellions grew, and flourished—not so entirely to the blame of the Geraldines as their adversaries asserted—and how they subsided, we have related for us, with equal brevity and vigour, by the able man who suppressed them, the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney. It has been observed that the Earls of Desmond had for many generations adopted the usages of Tanistry, and that to the most important of the chiefties recognised by those usages—Rising Out—they owed the power which enabled them, at any time, to raise an armed force to maintain their quarrel, were it even with the Sovereign. This finds remarkable proof in the very first proceeding of Fitz Maurice, as it is related in the following letter, who notwithstanding the Earl's choice and the Queen's approbation of it, sought his election from the followers of his house, whose clear right it was to elect their ruler.

In 1583, Sir H. Sydney wrote to Sir F. Walsingham "A summary relation of all his services in Ireland."

MARCH 1, 1583.—(CAREW MSS.)

Three times Her Majesty hath sent me her Deputy, into Ireland, and in every of the three times I sustained a great and a violent rebellion, every one of which I subdued, and (with honorable peace) left the country in quiet. I returned to Dublin, and caused the old ruinous castle to be re-edified. But Ormond ceased not to persecute me, alleging that his people were still oppressed by Sir John of Desmond and the Desmondians. . . . I then caused my revocation. . . . and, unwitting to me, the Earl of Desmond and Sir John his brother were sent for, which Sir John (being come to Dublin for conference with the LL Justices) was (together with his brother the Earl) sent as prisoners, and committed to the Tower of London, where they remained, I think, seven years; and truly, Mr. Secretary, this hard dealing with Sir John of Desmond was the origin of James Fitz Mores' rebellion, and of all the evil and mischief of Munster. . . . I was sent for to the court again and again. As the people of that country were desirous to have me, so were there some of this country unwilling that I should go; but before a full year was run out I was sent again Deputy into Ireland. I landed at Carregfergus the 6th of Sept., 1568.

James Fitz Mores, son to Mores of Desmond, nicknamed Attotane, brother to James [14th] Earl of Desmond, father to the now Earl, traitor and rebel, understanding that I was arrived [at Dublin], and had not brought with me neither the Earl, nor Sir John his brother, which he thought I might, and would have done, assembling as many of the Earl of Desmond's people as he could, declared unto them that I could not obtain the enlargement either of the Earl or of his brother John, and that there was no hope or expectation of either of them, but to be put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison; and therefore (saying that the country could not be without an Earl, or a Captain) willed them make choice of one to be their Earl or Captain, as their ancestors had done, after the murder (as he termed it) of the good Earl Thomas Fitz James, his ancestor, put to death by the tyrant the Earl of Worcester (as he called him), then Deputy of Ireland. And according to this his speech, he wrote unto me, they forthwith, and as it had been with one voice, cried him to be their Captain. . . . This was the origin of the rebellion in Munster; and to use plain terms, 'twas the withdrawing of Sir John of Desmond from the governing of that country where he governed well. . . . James grew into more and more insolencies, and great outrages upon divers whom he loved nor liked not; whereupon I was driven to proclaim him traitor and rebel. And looking for the service of Sir Edmund Butler, then Captain and Sene-

* PEDIGREE B.

Note a.—The ten daughters of Maurice, Knight of Kerry, were:—1. Jane, md. George Herbert of Currrens, ancestor of the Herberts of Cahirane. 2. Honora, md. Richard Meredith, and had no male issue. 3. Bridget, md.—1st, Thomas Sandes, ancestor of the Sandes now of Sallow Glen and Oak Park; 2ndly, Stephen Creagh. 4. Anne, md. John Stack, ancestor of General Stack of Ballyconry. 5. Elizabeth, died unmd. 6. Lucy, md. Rev. John Day, and had with other issue three sons: Edward, Archdeacon of Ardfer, grandfather of the Rev. E. Day, now Rector of Sligo; John, grandfather of the present Bishop of Cashel and the Dean of Ardfer; Robert, Judge of the Queen's Bench, whose only daughter and heiress married Sir Edward Denny, Bart., lineal descendant of Sir Anthony Denny (*temp.* Henry VIII.), to whose younger son Queen Elizabeth granted 6000 acres of the forfeited palatinate of Desmond, with the Earl's chief seat, Tralee Castle. (*Vide* Lodge's "Portraits" and Burke's "Baronetage"). 7. Margaret, md. John Hewson, ancestor of the Hewsons of Ennismore. 8. Marian, md. William Meredith, ancestor of Richard Meredith now of Dix Grove, and his uncle the Rev. Robert FitzGerald Meredith of Halstock Rectory, Yeovil. 9. Mary, md.—1st, Robert Collis, ancestor of the Rev. John Day Collis, D. D., Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon; and, 2ndly, Thomas Rice, ancestor of Lord Monteagle. 10. Barbara, md. Bastable Herbert, whose representative is, I believe, Francis Bland Herbert, Captain R. N., residing in Wexford. Sir Bernard Burke, in his "Landed Gentry," says that there was an eleventh sister, Ellinor, who md. Richard Griffin, and this error, I am sorry to say, was repeated in the first series of "Kerry Records." Ellinor FitzGerald, the wife of Richard Griffin, was the niece of Maurice, Knight of Kerry, and the daughter of his younger brother Daniel, to whom their father, John, Knight of Kerry, had leased for ever the lands of Ballinruddery. The eldest son of Daniel was John, who conformed; he died in 1757, bequeathing Ballinruddery to his cousin Robert FitzGerald (who became Knight of Kerry in 1780), and his interest in certain lands in the County Cork, and £40 each to his nephew, son of Ellinor, wife of Richard Griffin, and his niece, the dau. of Honora, wife of Francis Griffin. (Glanleam MSS.) The present descendants, if any exist, of Honora and Francis Griffin are unknown, but I am inclined to think Gerald Griffin, the author of the "Collegians," was one of them.

Note b.—This Richard FitzGerald, of Inshinyeranagh in 1754, is said to have been identical with a Richard FitzGerald styled in his Will made in 1795, "of Castle Richard, *alias* Inshinyeranagh," who married, in or about 1757, Margaret Ronayne of Dluhtane, Co. Waterford. The following issue of this marriage are mentioned in the Will:—Richard and Maurice, of whom presently; Edward, of whose issue, if any, we have no account; Mary, md. Richard Power of Clonearden; Elizabeth, md. John McArdle; Margaret, md. Edmund Russell; Frances, md. Richard Godsell (against testator's consent); and Ellinor, unmd. in 1795. The executors named are, Robert FitzGerald of Corkbegg, Richard Garde of Garrymore, and Denis O'Brien of Fountains, Esquires. Richard FitzGerald, testator's eldest son, to whom he bequeathed Inshinyeranagh, md. Margaret Sarsfield of Cork, and had sons, who left no male issue, and who sold Inshinyeranagh. Maurice, second son of Richard FitzGerald, by Margaret Ronayne, was a physician. He resided at Killeagh, Co. Cork, and held the lands of Carrigroist. He married a Miss Coppinger, by whom he had a son who settled at Tallow, Co. Waterford, and who had with other issue a son, Maurice FitzGerald, now of Midleton, manager of the branch of the Munster Bank there established. This gentleman's ancestors and family have been always interred in the old tomb of the Ballymartyr FitzGerald in Ballyougherah Abbey, which is now enclosed in Lord Shannon's demesne. On the stone over the entrance to their tomb are the words, "Hic jacet Geraldei de Imokilly," and above them is the boar crest which the Seneschals seem to have adopted as officials of the Desmond Earls; for the crest on the ruined mansion at Castle Ishin, and on the tomb of Maurice FitzGerald of Castle Ishin (ob. 1726) in Buttevant Abbey, is the knight armed on horseback, the same used by the parent house of the Knights of Kerry. Its appearance at Castle Ishin shows that it was borne, as we might expect, by the Knights of Cloyne. The representation of the Seneschals of Imokilly certainly seems to lie with Maurice FitzGerald, Esq., of the Munster Bank, Midleton.

Note c.—As this Pedigree of the Castle Ishin FitzGerald, so far as it goes, differs materially from that given in Sir Bernard Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom," in deference to so high a genealogical authority as the Ulster King, it is right to point out clearly the sources for my version of the several descents. Sir George Carew, who was the contemporary of James FitzMaurice de Geraldinis, and well acquainted with his connexions, says that his daughter, Honora FitzMaurice, md.—1st, the Seneschal of Imokilly, by whom she had two sons, Edmund and Richard, and two daughters; and, 2dly, Sir Edmund FitzGerald, Knight of Cloyne, by whom she had a son, John, also a Knight. The Harleian MS. says she had also three younger sons by this second marriage, viz., Maurice, Thomas, and Garret. Sir George Carew says nothing whatever of her marriage with a Clenlish FitzGerald, although he gives a pedigree of that family which was but very remotely related to the Cloyne Knights. As Sir Edmund of Cloyne died in 1611, it is of course possible that his widow Honora may have married a Clenlish FitzGerald, but a Baronet he could not have been, as her Will in the Record Office was proved in 1628, nearly twenty years before the alleged creation of the Baronetcy. In it she mentions her two sons, "Sir John FitzGerald, Knight of Cloyne, and Maurice FitzEdmund FitzGerald." The Will of the first-mentioned son, Sir John of Cloyne, is in the Record Office. It is dated September 1, 1640. In it he mentions his brother, Maurice FitzGerald of Castle Ishin. The Will of James FitzGerald of Rostellan, dated 1635, is also in the Record Office. In it testator bequeaths Rostellan to his "cousin german Sir John FitzGerald of Cloyne, Knight," adding, "I doe recomende that he assign it to his brother, Maurice FitzEdmund FitzGerald of Castle Ishin." No change took place in the proprietorship of Castle Ishin

SIR JOHN FITZEDMUND FITZGERALD of Cloyne; knighted in 1601; died 1612, aged 85, and was buried at Cloyne. He died seized of immense estates in Kerry and Cork. (Inquisitions, P. R. O.)

HONOR O'BRIEN, ni of the Earl of T mend.

JOAN, md. a younger son of the Lord Poer. (Carewe.)

ELLINOR, md.—1st, Robert Walshe of the Walshe Mountains, Slewbranagh, Kilkenny; 2ndly, Peter Walshe. (Harleian MSS.)

3. JAMES, died s. p. (Carewe.)

1. SIR EDMUND, died *vita patris* in 1611, and was b. in Cloyne Cathedral. (Inquisition P. R. O.)

HONOR, dau. of James FitzMaurice, the Arch Traitor, and widow of the Seneschal of Imokilly. (Carewe.) Her will, made in 1628, mentions her sons, Sir John FitzGerald of Cloyne, and Maurice FitzEdmund Gerald of Castle Ishin. (AVilla

2. THOMAS, of Rostellan in 1628 (Wills, P. R. O.)

HONOR, dau. of O'Sullivan Beare.

PEDIGREE OF FITZGERALD, SENESCHALS OF

Compiled from the Carewe MSS., Lambeth Library, the

[N. B.—The descent of the

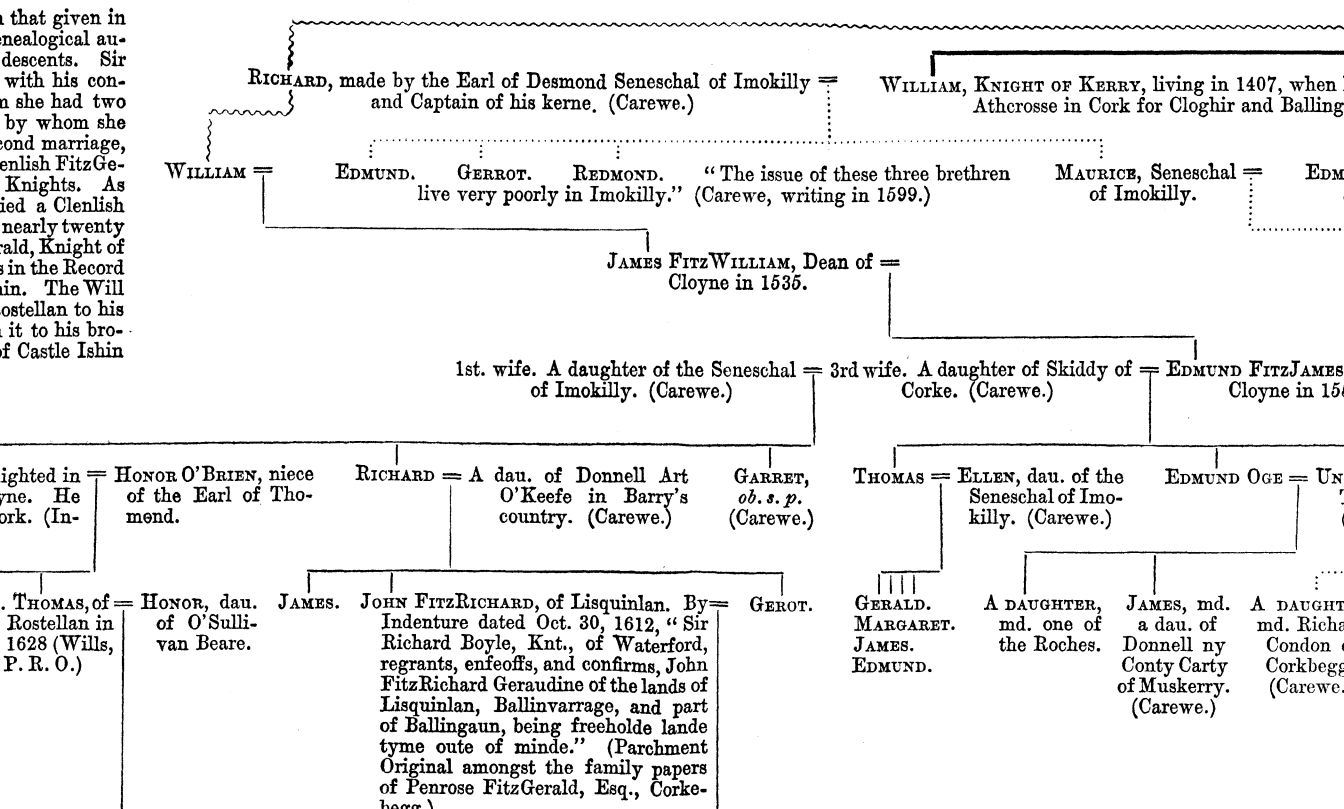
JOHN FITZTHOMAS FITZGERALD, Lord of Con
from the place of that name near Kenmare, where
1261. He was buried in the Dominican Abbey of

MAURICE FITZG

GILBERT, died s. p.

Jo

I



FITZGERALD, KNIGHT SCHALS OF IMOKILLY; AND OF FITZGERALD OF

, *Lambeth Library, the Harleian MSS., the Cotter MSS., the Glanleam MSS., and the Inquisitions and*

[N. B.—The descent of the Imokilly FitzGerald is indicated by a dotted line to distinguish it from the other Pedigrees.]

S FITZGERALD, Lord of Connelloe, Decies, and Desmond, called John of Callan, = HONORA, daughter of the O'Connor Kerry; that name near Kenmare, where he was killed in battle with the MacCarthys A. D. but the Harleian MS. states that she was the married in the Dominican Abbey of Tralee which he had founded. (*Vide* Pedigree A.) daughter of O'Connor Don.

MAURICE FITZGERALD of Ennismore and Rahinnane. (Carewe MSS.) =

JOHN of Ennismore and Rahinnane. =

GILBERT, died *s. p.* (Carewe.)

MAURICE, FIRST KNIGHT OF KERRY. =
(Archdall.)

JOAN, dau. of Nicholas, third Lord Kerry (great great grandson by Slany, dau. of Connor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond.)

JOHN, KNIGHT OF KERRY, heir to his uncle Gilbert of Ennismore and Rahinnane. (Carewe.) =

RICHARD, KNIGHT OF KERRY, obtained with his wife large estates in Cork. (Carewe.) =

MAUDE, heiress of Lord De Courcy. (Carewe.)

OF KERRY, living in 1407, when he exchanged with the Earl of Desmond Mogeely and = CATHERINE FITZMAURICE, dau. of the seventh Lord Kerry by in Cork for Cloghir and Ballingolin (now Burnham) in Kerry. (Carewe.) dau. of MacCarthy Mor, Prince of Desmond. (Archdall)

MAURICE, Seneschal =
of Imokilly.

EDMUND, expelled from his patrimony by his brother Nicholas. "Of this Edmund John FitzRedmond of Ballycrynna descends." (Carewe, writing in 1599.)

NICHOLAS, KNIGHT OF KERRY, after his elder brother Edmund. (=

RICHARD, Seneschal =
of Imokilly.

kidly of = EDMUND FITZJAMES, Dean of Cloyne in 1555. = 2nd wife. A daughter of a man in Muskerry.

of the
of Imo-
rewe.)

EDMUND OGE = UNA MAHON of
Thomond.
(Carewe.)

HONOR, married—1st, James FitzMaurice FitzGerald of the Shyan; and, 2ndly, Brian MacOwen Icohye of Muskerry; and hath issue by both. (Carewe.)

JAMES, hanged by his brother Sir John of Cloyne. (Carewe.)

MARY, married Thoro Oge FitzGerald of (Carewe.)

TER, ne of ches.

JAMES, md. a dau. of Donnell ny Conty Carty of Muskerry. (Carewe.)

A DAUGHTER, md. Richard Condon of Corkbegg. (Carewe.)

MAURICE, called of Rathcoursy in an Inquisition of 1589. (Information supplied by Mr. Hennessy, M. R. I. A.)

A daughter of Moriarty Mac Shee, who was slain in rebellion in 1599. (Carewe.)

ELLEN, md.—1st, Thomas, brother of Sir John FitzEdmund; 2dly, Redmond FitzGerald of the Broghil; 3dly, Tiegue Mac Moriartagh O'Brien

MARGARET = RICHARD MAC BRIAN SHEE. (Carewe.)

JOHN FITZEDMUND (FITZGERALD), Desmond's last Seneschal of Imokilly, died a prisoner in Dublin Castle, A. D. 1589. (Inquisition, P. R. O.)

HONORA, dau. FitzMaurice Traitor. 2ndly, Sir FitzGerald (Carewe.) leian MSS. of Lord Bu 1580 make hand Edmu the Span

KNIGHT OF KERRY; GERALD OF CLOYNE IN IMOKILLY.

and the Inquisitions and Wills in the Public Record Office.

the other Pedigrees.]

Connor Kerry;
that she was the

Lord Kerry (great great grandson of Raymond Le Gros),
mor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond. (Archdall.)

ary. (Carewe.)

a. of the seventh Lord Kerry by Catherine,
r, Prince of Desmond. (Archdall.)

NICHOLAS, KNIGHT OF KERRY, after he had expelled
his elder brother Edmund. (Carewe.)

A son, ancestor, according to Archdall, of the FitzGerald of Cloyne and Allen; but
Carewe derives the former from the Seneschals of Imokilly, as at other side.

JOHN.
a

PATRICK, slain by the son of
MacCarthy Mor, v. p., ob.
s. p. (Four Masters.)

JOHN (KEIGH), KNIGHT OF KERRY, called "the Blind Bishop of Ardferd."
Knight of Kerry, he is made son of William, and brother of Nicholas
"History of Kerry," to have been made Bishop of Ardferd by Pope Alex

MAURICE, Seneschal of
Imokilly.

JOHN, KNIGHT OF KERRY
in 1530. AMORY O'BRIEN
Maurice,

brother
ne.

MARY, married Thomas Garry
Oge FitzGerald of Imokilly.
(Carewe.)

ELLEN, married Wil-
liam Cogan.
(Condon ? Carewe.)

EDMUND, styled "Edmund FitzMaurice, Riskard, Seneschal of Imo-
killy," in a Deed of 1567, wherein John Gerald, Lord of Ballycri-
nane, and his son and heir Redmond, grant him Rathcouresy.
(Information supplied by Mr. W. M. Hennessy, M. R. I. A.)

SHYLIE,
Maolr
O'Car
(Carew

JOHN FITZ EDMUND
(FITZGERALD),
Desmond's last Se-
neschal of Imokilly,
ed a prisoner in
Dublin Castle, A. D.
1589. (Inquisition,
R. O.)

HONORA, dau. of James
FitzMaurice, the Arch-
Traitor. She md.—
2ndly, Sir Edmund
FitzGerald of Cloyne.
(Carewe.) The Har-
leian MSS. and a note
of Lord Burleigh's in
1580 make her 1st hus-
band Edmund "son of
the Seneschal of Imo-

RICHARD, Se-
neschal of
Imokilly.
(Carewe.)

JAMES,
ob. s. p.
(Carewe.)

ELLEN, md.—
1st, Thomas,
brother of Sir
John FitzEd-
mund; 2dly,
Richard Fitz-
Gerald of the
Broghill; and
3rdly, Tiegue
Mac Monar-

JOHN, KNIGHT OF KERRY, d.—
Sept. 17, 1595; seised of
Ennismore, Rathanane, Mar-
hin, Gortlienshy, Ballygille-
nane, Leack, Imelaghfiardy,
and other lands in Kerry,
some of which he had mort-
gaged to Jenkin Conway for
41 years, from August 1,
1592. (Inquisitions, Public

SHELA,
dau. of
O'Sul-
livan
Mor.
(Carewe.)

RICHARD = One of
Hussers
of Kerry
(Carew

A son. A son. A

after 1660, for
FitzGerald of I
1635-40, who v
writes—"There
Gerald, Esq., of
his wife, of the
cestors until the
a crest, an arm
Castle Ishin."
of Kerry, as al
mentioned in th
Co. Limerick, f
Gortnitubbrid (G
was colonel of a
rick, and fell a
Forfeited Estate
P. R. O.) Mr.
rice of Castle Is
Burke, D'Alton,
to the reader's j

Note d.—Sir
of Commons in
they were never
allegiance and lo
the rebels, havin
and himself exec
papers and other
half of the Knig
of Papist Proprie
nuary, 1656," p
whose estate is
all or some portio
Act of Settlement
insufficient to me
pists who had be
civilians, who w
passed, which, a
and interests of
Geoffrey Fanning
withstanding tha
war." Either in
their behalf, or t
tion enacted that
vested in his Maj
Governors of Ire
respective estates
Kerry, the Letter

after 1660, for we find that the Will of Maurice FitzGerald, of Castle Ishin in 1679, mentions his nephew, Maurice FitzGerald of Inshinyeranagh; thus proving the testator to have been identical with the Maurice of Castle Ishin in 1635-40, who was half-brother of Edmund of Ballymartyr, and therefore uncle to his sons. A Cork correspondent writes—"There is in Buttevant Abbey a slab bearing the following inscription: 'Pray for the souls of Maurice FitzGerald, Esq., of Castle Ishin of the House of Desmond, who dyed the 16th day of September, 1726, and Dame Helen his wife, of the House of Ormond, who dyed in the year 1721, whose bodies are deposited in this vault with their ancestors until the resurrection of the dead in Christ our Lord.' Close to this is carved a saltier ermine, and above it is a crest, an armed knight on horseback. This same crest is carved on a stone over the entrance to the old house at Castle Ishin." It is identical with that borne by the Cloyne Knights, the Lisquinlan FitzGerald, and the Knights of Kerry, as already mentioned. This Maurice, buried in Buttevant, seems to have been the grandson of that name mentioned in the Will of Maurice FitzGerald of Castle Ishin in 1635-79. Sir John FitzGerald, Bart., of Glenlish, Co. Limerick, forfeited part of his estates in 1649, but was restored to three thousand acres in Limerick, including Gortnitubbrid (now Springfield), in 1670. D'Alton, and I believe O'Callaghan, say that Sir John FitzGerald, Bart., was colonel of a regiment in the service of James II. in 1689, and that he went to France after the surrender of Limerick, and fell at Oudenarde in 1698. His widow, Dame Ellen FitzGerald, petitioned the Trustees for the Sale of Forfeited Estates in 1702 to be allowed jointure out of the estate of her husband "deceased beyond seas." (Petitions, P. R. O.) Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that this Dame Ellen may have been the daughter "Lady Ellen" of Maurice of Castle Ishin's Will in 1679, and this does not seem unlikely. On the question of the conflicting statements of Burke, D'Alton, and the Patent Grants, &c., I offer no opinion, but merely give my authorities, and leave the rest to the reader's judgment.

Note d.—Smith, in his "History of Kerry" (p. 63, *note*), says that "John Knight of Kerry petitioned the House of Commons in 1665 concerning his Kerry estates, which by the Act of Explanation were vested in the king, although they were never sequestered upon account of the rebellion of 1641. In his petition he set forth his principles of allegiance and loyalty, his tenderness to the distressed English, &c. . . . His counsel also set forth his sufferings from the rebels, having had his houses burnt, his substance taken, his lands given away, by order of the Irish Council, and himself excommunicated by the Bishop of the diocese for opposing the rebels, all which was proved by divers papers and other evidences." The House of Commons, according to Smith, petitioned the Lord Lieutenant on behalf of the Knight of Kerry, who was thereupon restored to his estates by Letters Patent, May 14, 1667. In a "List of Papist Proprietors names in the County Kerrie, as they are returned in the Civill Survey of the County, 27th January, 1656," preserved in the Record Tower, "John FitzGerald, Knight of Kerrie," is set down as one of those whose estate is "suspended from disposall by Order of the Council." He appears to have been left in possession of all or some portion of it throughout the Protectorate, and for some time after the Restoration and the passing of the Act of Settlement. But in 1665-6, when it was feared that the supply of land in the whole island would be found insufficient to meet the innumerable claims of innocent Papists, Papists who had gone into exile with the King, Papists who had been transplanted, Protestant loyalists, and Protestant adventurers and Cromwellians, soldiers and civilians, who were willing to aid in or at least allow the restoration of the monarchy, the Act of Explanation was passed, which, according to its sixty-third clause, was specially intended to "protect, settle, and establish the estates and interests of Protestants." Its first section enacts that the estates of John FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry, Geoffrey Fanning of Ballygarry, and Captain John Magill of the County Down, are to be vested in the Crown, notwithstanding that "the same were not seized, sequestered, or set apart upon the account of the said late rebellion or war." Either in consequence of their petitions against this injustice, or that influential Protestants interfered in their behalf, or that all the lands were not wanted for Protestant claimants, the 102nd section of the Act of Explanation enacted that—"Out of the estates of John FitzGerald, John Magill, and Geoffrey Fanning, before by this Act vested in his Majesty, his heirs and successors, it shall and may be lawfull for the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governors of Ireland, to restore unto and settle upon them and their heirs respectively such part or parts of the said respective estates as they shall think fit." The result of this clause was the passing to John FitzGerald, Knight of Kerry, the Letters Patent of 1667. (M. A. H.)

in Kerry,
t Edmund
' (Carewe
the Fitz-
rice Duffe,
ome notice
orcaguiny;
Journal".
now repre-
e, Dublin.

oyne and Allen; but
, as at other side.

JOHN. "His portion was Carmona in Imokilly; this Sept have now no land,
and live very poorly in Imokilly." (Carewe, writing *circa* 1600.)

"the Blind Bishop of Ardfert." In a pedigree in the possession of the present
William, and brother of Nicholas. John FitzGerald is said by Smith, in his
le Bishop of Ardfert by Pope Alexander VI. in 1495.

HT OF KERRY = AMORY O'BRIEN, granddau. of Connor O'Brien (inaugurated King of Thomond in 1528), by Ellice, dau. of
1530. Maurice, tenth Earl of Desmond, who died in 1520, and was buried in Tralee Abbey. (Archdall.)

rd, Seneschal of Imo-
ld, Lord of Ballycri-
nt him Rathcoursy.
ssy, M. R. I. A.)

SHYLIE, dau. of
Maolrony
O'Carroll.
(Carewe.)

WILLIAM,
KNIGHT
OF KERRY.

WINIFRED, dau. of the tenth Lord
Kerry, by Winifred, dau. of Tur-
logh MacMahon, Lord of Corca-
bhaiscin in Clare. (Archdall.)

SHELA,
dau. of
O'Sul-
livan
Mor.
(Carewe.)

RICHARD = One of the
Husseys
of Kerry.
(Carewe.)

WILLIAM = One of the
Ferriters of
Kerry.
(Carewe.)

GIBBON, a Priest =

OLIVER = A FitzGerald
of the Island
of Kerry.
(Carewe.)

A son. A son. A son.

A son. A son. A son.

WILLIAM.

A son, md. one
of the Moriari-
ties of Kerry.
(Carewe.)

A son, md.
a Crohan of
Desmond.
(Carewe.)

(Carewe.)

Kilkenny; 2ndly,
Peter Walshe.
(Harleian MSS.)

thedral. (Inqui-
sition P. R. O.)

killy. (Carewe.) Her
will, made in 1628,
mentions her sons, Sir
John FitzGerald of
Cloyne, and Maurice
FitzEdmund Gerald of
Castle Ishin. (Wills,
P. R. O.)

MARY, md. Owen
O'Sullivan Mor;
the male issue of
this marriage is
extinct. (MS. Pe-
digree of 1690.)

ELLEN, md. the fifth Lord Inchiquin, and
was by him the mother of the first Earl
of Inchiquin, the distinguished General
of 1643-9. The male line of this mar-
riage is extinct, but in the female line
many descendants remain. Amongst
others may be mentioned the Stucleys,
Baronets of Devonshire; the De Moleyns;
Barons Ventry; the Stoughtons of Owl-
pen, Gloucestershire, and Ballyhorgan,
Co. Kerry; the Raymonds of Kilmurry,
Walkers of Laharren, Co. Kerry, and
Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett, M. P.
for same county.

MAURICE, of Castle Ishin in 1641, trans-
planted in 1653. His Will, proved
June 7, 1679, made March 20, 1678,
leaves his son his lands, mentions his
grandson Maurice, and his grand-
daughter Joan Mac Mahon, *alias*
Creagh, his "dear daughter Lady Ellen
FitzGerald," and directs that he shall
be buried at Buttevant with his de-
ceased wife. Testator names as his
executors his "*nephew Maurice Fitz-
Gerald of Inshinycranagh*," and James
Baggot of Rathjordan. (*Vide Note c.*)

HONORA MAC
CARTHY,
dau. of Lord
Muskerry.
(MS. Ped. of
the 17th cen-
tury.)

ELLEN?
Probably
the wife of
Sir John
FitzGerald,
Bart., of
Clenlish.
(*V. Note c.*)

GARRET, of Castle
Ishin. By Deed
dated 1674, Lord
Kingston con-
veyed to Garret
FitzGerald of
Castle Ishin 38
acres of that
estate which had
been retrenched
from that part
of it that had
been granted to
Sir R. Tynte af-
ter 1641. (Infor-
mation supplied
by Mr. W. M.
Hennessy, M. R.
I. A.)

KATHERINE
O'BRIEN,
dau. of Lord
Clare. (MS.
Pedigree of
1690.)

HONORA, md. the nineteenth Lord Kerry; she
died in 1688, and her Will (P. R. O.) directs
that she shall be buried in "her own tomb
(purchased from the Dean and Chapter) in
Ardfert Cathedral by night," as she "has
not wherewithal to bury her otherwise."
This tomb, in which the Crosbies of Ardfert
have been buried of late years, is in a now
walled-up, small chapel at the north-east
end of the Cathedral. From this marriage
of Honora FitzGerald of Cloyne with Pa-
trick Lord Kerry, descends the present Mar-
quis of Lansdowne, and also the Earl of
Orkney; and in the female line Lord Mus-
kerry, Sir George Colthurst, Bart., and
William Talbot Crosbie, D. L., now of Ar-
dfert Abbey. Failing the descendants of Ed-
mund of Ballymaloo, in 1670, of his brothers
Thomas and Garret, and of Maurice of Cas-
tle Ishin in same year, the representation
of Sir John FitzGerald of Cloyne, who died
in 1640, would seem to rest with the Mar-
quis of Lansdowne.

EDMUND, of Ballymaloo and Clo-
mentioned with his cousin of
in the Royal Declaration of
tached to the Act of Settlement
ordered to be restored to his
feited in 1649, but this was n-
a clause in the Act of Explan-
ations him amongst the old loyal-
for whom no provision has been
the tenth year of William III.
passed to quash certain claims
being made by these old proprie-
the Cromwellian and William
After 1698 the name of Edmund
of Ballymaloo disappears from
Papers and Acts. From him
brothers descended the FitzGe-
carny, Kerry, now extinct in the
but in the female line represe-
Graces of Mantua House, Ros-

MAURICE,
mentioned in his
grandfather's
Will above-
mentioned.
He md. Helen
Butler of Kil-
cash (Archdall),
and died in 1726.
(*Vide Note c.*)

Dau. md. to Mac
Mahon of Clare,
by whom she
had a dau. who
md. Creagh of
Dangan.

THOMAS = HELENA
UNIACKE. BORR.
(Burke's
"Landed
Gentry.")

MARY = THE KNIGHT
OF GLIN.
Will, dated Nov. 13, 1753,
mentions her brother de-
ceased, to whose real and
personal estate she was en-
titled, also her cousin, Dr.
Thomas Fitzgerald, and his
brother and two sisters.

3. MAURICE, of Ballynacoda,
who md. Catherine, dau.
of James Uniacke of Cappa,
and had a dau. md. Walter
Atkin, Esq., of Leasington,
Co. Cork. (*Vide Burke's*
"Landed Gentry.")

1. BORR, an-
cestor of the
Uniackes of
Woodhouse.

2. ROBERT UNIACKE (second son), to whom his
maternal granduncle bequeathed Lisquinlan,
and gave Corkbeegg. He assumed the name and
arms of FitzGerald. His first wife was Jane
Smith of Ballinatray, by whom he had one
dau. md. John LaTouche of Harristown, Co.
Kildare.

FRANCES, dau. of John
Judkin of Green Hills,
Tipperary. She was
the second wife.
ELLEN, J. Wh
of Rath
nan.

ROBERT UNIACKE FITZGERALD = LOUISA, dau. of Rev.
M. P. for Cork in 1798. R. Bullen.

THOMAS, ances
FitzGer

RICE FITZGERALD, died s. p.,
bequeathing his estates to his
nephew, who took the name
of FitzGerald.

LOUISA FITZGERALD = JAMES PENROSE.

3. ROBERT = ELLEN, dau. of P. B.
Hussey, Esq.

ROBERT UNIACKE PENROSE = FRANCES, dau. of Rev.
FITZGERALD. Dr. Austin.

MARIA =

FitzRichard Geraudine of the lands of Lisquinlan, Ballinvarragh, and part of Ballingaun, being freeholde lande tyme oute of minde." (Parchment Original amongst the family papers of Penrose FitzGerald, Esq., Corkebegg.)

of Muskerry. (Carewe.)

In 1641, trans-Will, proved arch 20, 1673, mentions his d his grand- Mahon, *alias* ter Lady Ellen s that he shall with his de- names as his Maurice Fitz- h," and James (Vide Note c.)

HONORA MAC CARTHY, dau. of Lord Muskerry. (MS. Ped. of the 17th century.)

SIR JOHN FITZGERALD died in 1640. (Wills, P. R. O.) Archdall, quoting an old MS. Pedigree, says he was "the bestested com- moner of his time in Ireland." (Archdall's Lodge, vol. ii. p. 198, Lineage of FitzMau- rice, Earl of Kerry.)

ELLEN, dau. of Lord Barry. (Inquisitions, P. R. O.)

RICHARD, of Lyhane and Bridgefield in 1640. (Wills, P. R. O.) Sir John FitzGerald of Cloyne calls him in his Will "my brother Richard of Bridgefield," but he may have been the testator's step-brother, younger brother of Ed- mund of Ballymartyr. Nothing is known of his descendants, if any there were.

JAMES, of Rostellan, died s. = MARY p. in 1635, bequeathing BURKE. Rostellan to his "cousin german Sir John FitzGe- rald of Cloyne," recom- mending him to assign it to his "brother Maurice of Castle Ishin." (Wills, P. R. O.)

EDMUND, of Ballymaloo and Cloyne in 1641, mentioned with his cousin of Ballymartyr in the Royal Declaration of Thanks at- tached to the Act of Settlement. He was ordered to be restored to his estates for- feited in 1649, but this was not done, for a clause in the Act of Explanation men- tions him amongst the old loyal proprietors for whom no provision has been made. In the tenth year of William III. an Act was passed to quash certain claims which were being made by these old proprietors against the Cromwellian and Williamite settlers. After 1698 the name of Edmund FitzGerald of Ballymaloo disappears from the State Papers and Acts. From him or one of his brothers descended the FitzGerald of Lis- carn, Kerry, now extinct in the male line, but in the female line represented by the Graces of Mantua House, Roscommon.

THOMAS. GARRET. ELLEN.

GARRETT FITZGERALD, of Lisquinlan, restored in 1662 to that estate. By Patent, Charles II., he was also put into possession of Kilcorke- begg, *alias* Corkbegg, Knockerneede, and Baneshane in Imokilly, which had been mort- gaged in 1629 by Sir John FitzGerald of Cloyne to Sir Robert Tinte, Knt., and had passed by assignments to said Garrett, who died in 1689. (Wills, P. R. O.)

RICHARD, of Bally- Charles I. and Ch- tyr after the Res- Royal Declaration Settlement, as ha- the King's grace his Will he is sty- Glenogeare."

ROBERT FITZGERALD, of Lis- quinlan and Corkbegg in 1715; settled Corkbegg in that year on his "nephew (Qy. grand-nephew) Robert Uniacke, son of his nephew Thomas Uniacke," and be- queathed Lisquinlan to him by Will dat. 1718. (P. R. O.)

HENRY. PHILLIS = . . . UNIACKE. KATHERINE. MABEL = . . . RUT

MARY = THE KNIGHT NOV. 13, 1753, brother de- nose real and e she was en- er cousin, Dr. erald, and his o sisters.

OF GLIN.

JOHN, of Ballinacurra in 1717; he was twelve years old at his father's death in 1697, and died s. p. before 1753.

RICHARD, to whom his father bequeathed all his estates; but a Deed of 1754 records their partition between him and his brother Thomas. It recites that they were the "sons of Richard FitzGerald, late of Inshinycranagh, deceased," and that he "dying a Papist" the lands descended to them in gavel kind, Richard getting Inshinycranagh, and Thomas Carrigrostig. In 1774, Mr. Singleton, of the city of Cork, yeoman, declares on oath that his name was made use of in a Bill of Discovery, filed under the anti-Popery Acts, against Richard and Thomas FitzGerald for the recovery of the lands of Inshinycranagh and Carrigrostig, and that it was filed in trust for William Tonson, Lieutenant-Governor of Cork. (Vide Note b.)

THOMAS. In 1756 he mortgaged Car- rigrostig. In the deed of mortgage he is styled "Tho- mas FitzGerald of Youghal, M.D."

FRANCES, dau. of John Judkin of Green Hills, Tipperary. She was the second wife.

ELLEN, md. J. White of Rathgo- nan.

JOHN, died s. p.

EDMUND, died s. p.

RICHARD, died s. p.

THOMAS FITZGERALD, = MARY BATE- Knight of Glin, the man, great grandfather of of Oak Park, the present Knight Co. Kerry.

CATHERINE, md.— 1st, T. F. Crosbie, and had issue; 2ndly, Robert, son of the Knight of Kerry.

2. ROBERT, s. KNIGHT OF K —1st, Lucy, Tarbert Hou- rine FitzGer- of Glin, and but had no su

au. of Rev. ullen.

THOMAS, ancestor of Sir Capel FitzGerald, Bart.

2. ROBERT, an officer in the army, killed at the siege of Seringapatam.

MARY, died unmd.

1. MAURICE, KNIGHT OF K Dec. 29, 1772.

ERT = ELLEN, dau. of P. B. Hussey, Esq.

2. DAVID, died unmd.

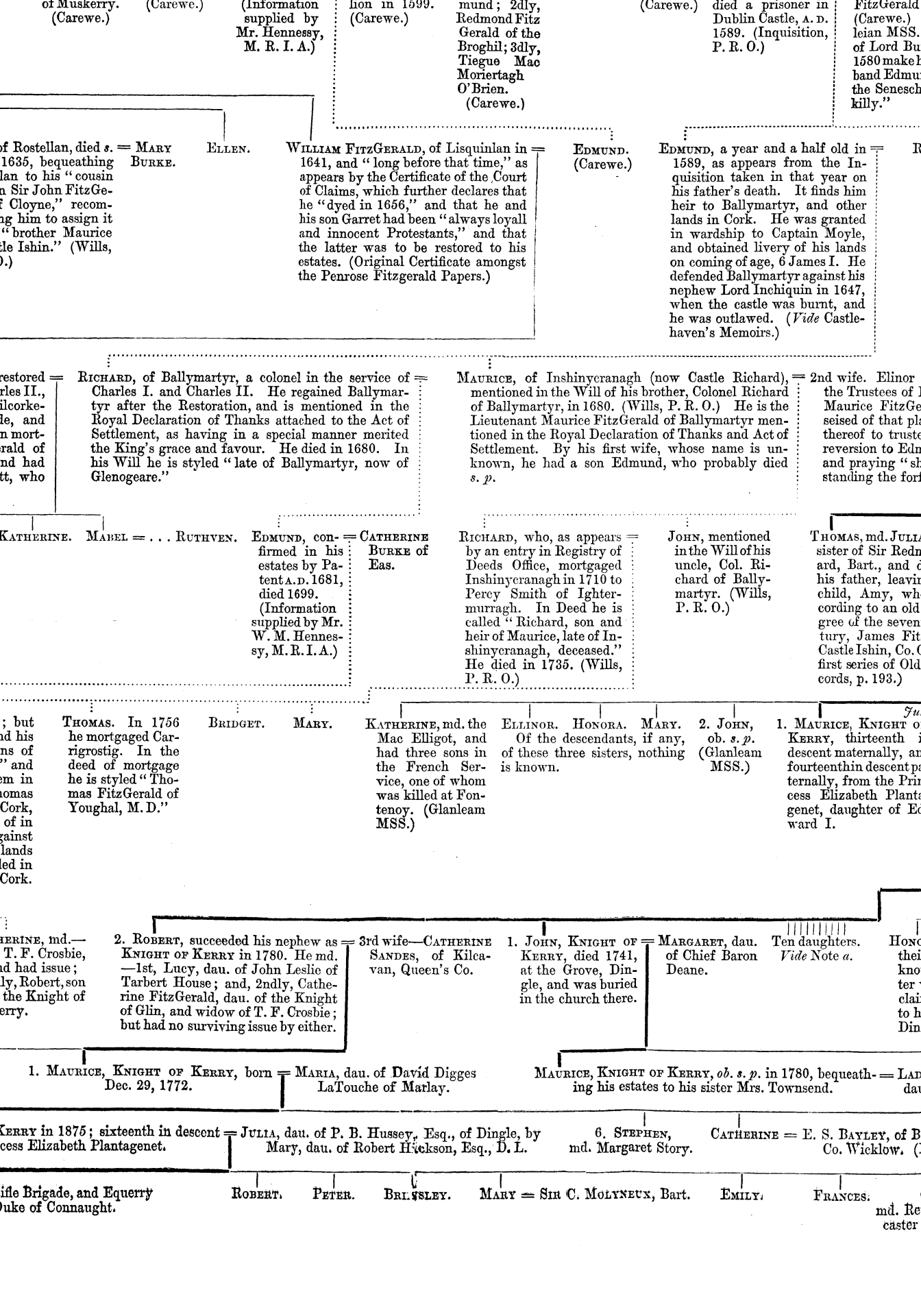
1. MAURICE, died unmd.

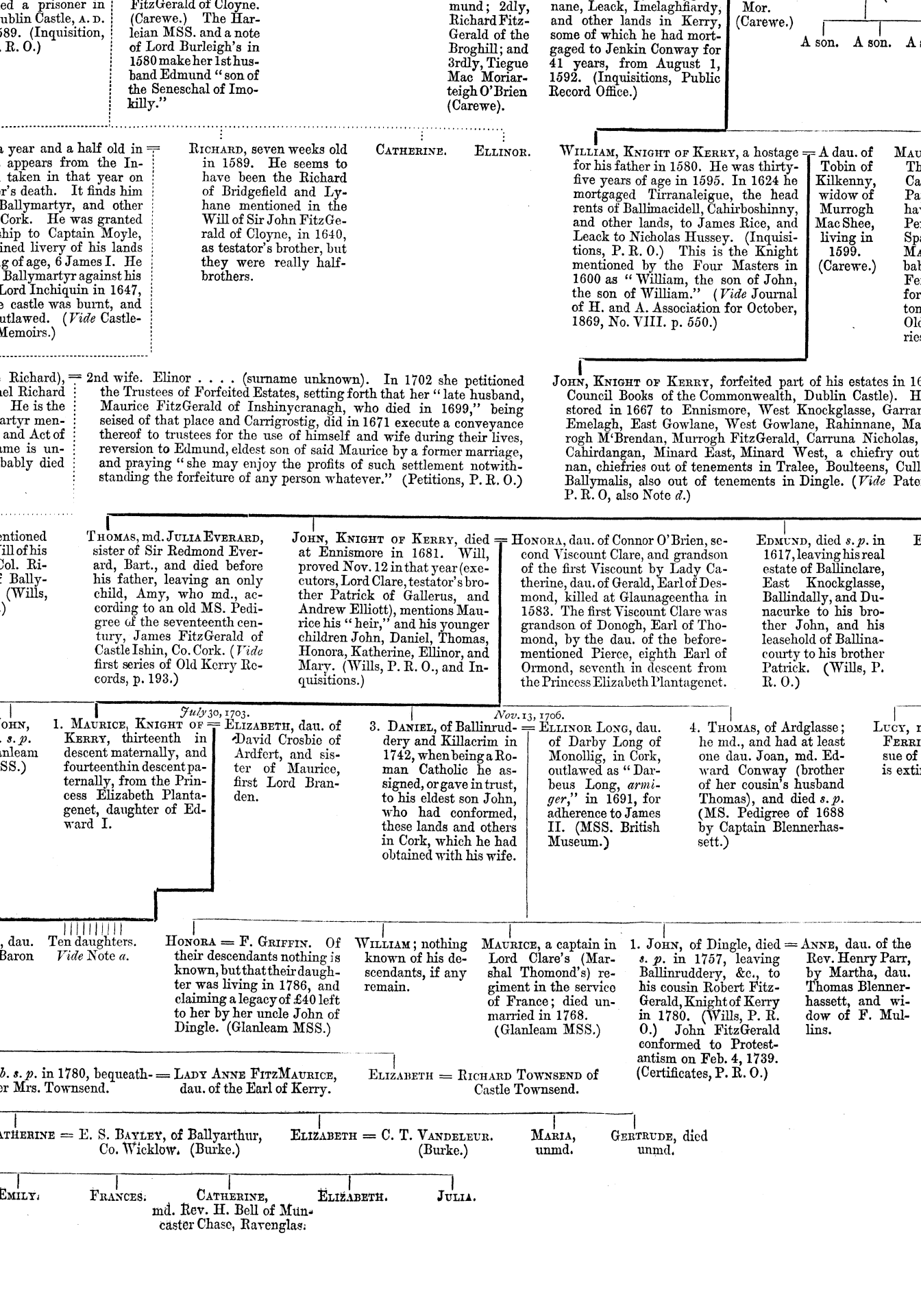
4. BRINSLEY, died unmd.

5. PETER, KNIGHT OF KERRY in 1875; sixteenth in desc from the Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet.

MARIA = MAJOR PERCY

MAURICE, Captain in Rifle Brigade, and Equerry to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught.





Mor.
(Carewe.)
A son. A son. A son. A son. A son. A son. WILLIAM. A son, md. one of the Moriarties of Kerry. (Carewe.) A son, md. a Crohan of Desmond. (Carewe.)

ry, a hostage = A dau. of MAURICE, md. the daughter of THOMAS Oge Fitzgerald of Castle Island. In a State Paper of 1605 he is said to have been then a Gentleman Pensioner of the King of the Spain. He is called MAURICE MACRUDDERY, and was probably the subject of Pierse Ferriter's Keen, translated for the Percy Society by Crofton Croker in 1845. (Vide Old Kerry Records, First Series.)
e was thirty- In 1624 he e, the head hirboshinny, es Rice, and y. (Inquisi- the Knight Masters in son of John, Vide Journal for October,
Kilkenny, widow of Murrough MacShee, living in 1599. (Carewe.)
PATRICK. (Carewe.) GERALD. (Carewe.) A dau. md. in 1599. (Carewe.) A dau. md. Thomas Oge Fitzgerald of Kilmacow. (Carewe.) A dau. md.—1st, O'Mahony Fin; and, 2ndly, Tiegue O'Driscoll. (Carewe.)

forfeited part of his estates in 1649. (Vide = KATHERINE, dau. of the eighteenth Lord Kerry, by Julia, or Gyles, dau. of Lord Poer of Curraghmore, who was great grandson of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond, seventh in descent from the Princess Elizabeth Plantagenet, dau. of Edward I. by Ellinor of Castille. (Vide Archdall's, Lodge, and Burke's "Royal and Noble Descents," also "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica," New Series, vol. ii. p. 56.)
Commonwealth, Dublin Castle). He was re-
West Gowlane, Rahinnane, Marhin Mur-
FitzGerald, Carruna Nicholas, Lattybeg,
Fitz, Minard West, a chieftly out of O'Bre-
ments in Tralee, Boulteens, Cullinagh, and
onements in Dingle. (Vide Patent Grants,

EDMUND, died s. p. in 1617, leaving his real estate of Ballinclare, East Knockglassse, Ballindally, and Dunacurke to his brother John, and his leasehold of Ballinacourty to his brother Patrick. (Wills, P. R. O.)
ELINOR = MACCARTHY MOR, died s. p.
PATRICK = of Gal-lerus.
THOMASINE, dau. of Edward Spring, by Anne, dau. of Sir Nicholas Brown, and Julia, dau. of O'Sullivan Beare. Walter Spring, only brother of this Thomasine, called "Walter the Unfortunate," from the extent of his forfeitures in 1649, was transplanted to Connaught. Her name appears in the list of "Papist Proprietors in Kerrie" returned Jan. 27, 1656, with a note that her "qualifications as a transplantable person are not as yet distinguished." She claimed in 1662 a jointure out of the lands of Inch. (Council Books of the Commonwealth, and Books of Distribution attached to Down Survey, P. R. O.)

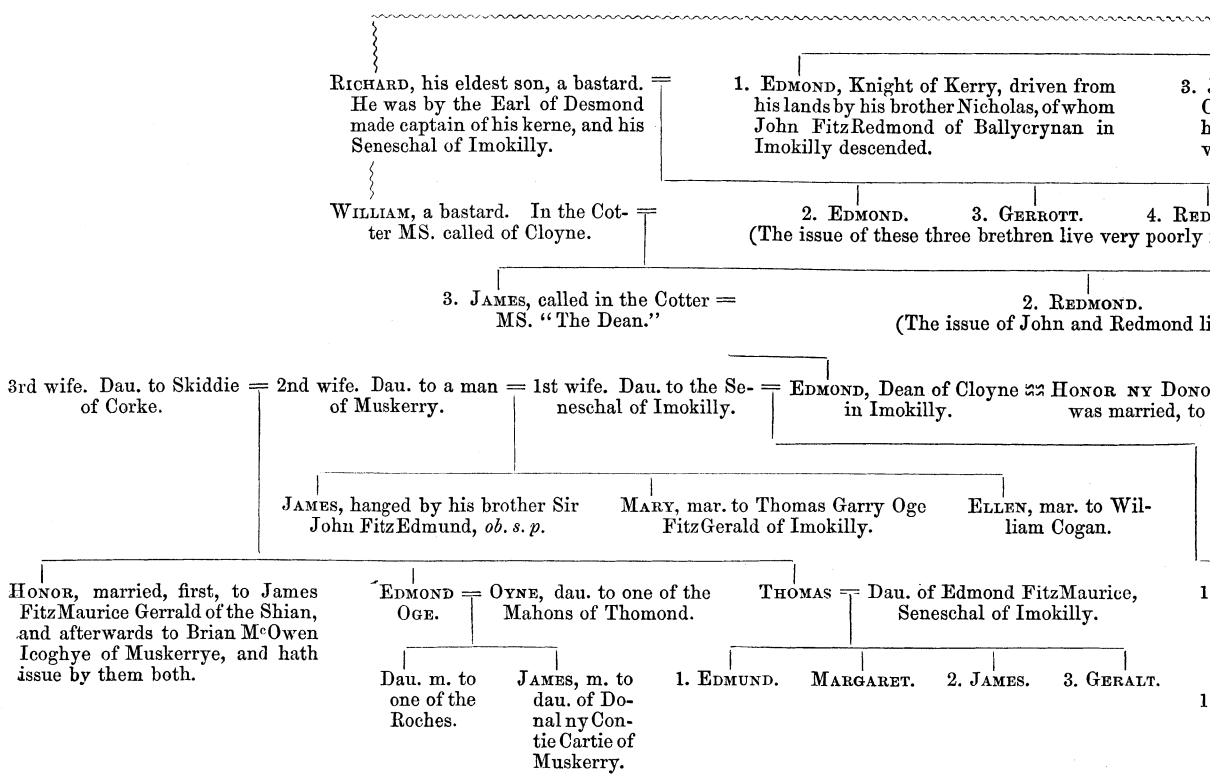
OMAS, of Ardglasse; md., and had at least dau. Joan, md. Edward Conway (brother of her cousin's husband mas), and died s. p. Pedigree of 1688 by Captain Blennerhas-
LUCY, md. RICHARD FERRITER. The issue of this marriage is extinct.
JOHN, of whose descendants, if any, we have no account.
ANNE, md. THOMAS CONWAY. From this marriage descends Sir Peter Halkett, Bart., Colonel T. S. Conway, C. B., and Robert Conway Hickson, Esq., D. L., Fermoyle, County Kerry. (MS. Pedigree of 1688 by Captain Blennerhassett. First series of Old Kerry Records, p. 74.)
CATHERINE, md. JAMES CONWAY. From this marriage descends Sir George Conway Colthurst, Bart. (Vide Burke's "Baronetage," and MS. Pedigree of 1688. First series of Old Kerry Records, p. 63.)

ngle, died = ANNE, dau. of the Rev. Henry Parr, by Martha, dau. Thomas Blennerhassett, and widow of F. Mullins.
ELLINOR, she md. = RICHARD GRIFFIN; from this marriage descends the Rev. John Nash Griffin of Dublin, and Robert Griffin, Esq., B. L., Sandymount, Dublin.
SUSANNA = JOHN HICKSON, of Hillville, Fermoyle, and Stradbally. From this marriage descended the late J. J. Hickson of Hillville; G. B. Hickson, Q. C., of Dublin; J. W. Busted, M. D., Castle Gregory; also R. C. Hickson, D. L., now of Fermoyle, and the family of Thomas Day, Esq., representative of the Days, formerly of the Manor, Co. Kerry. (Chancery Pleadings, and Questionings of Array, 1789-1811.)

PEDIGREE B.

PEDIGREE
FITZGERALD, SENESCHAL

“Both these families [the Seneschals of Imokilly and the FitzGerald of Cloyne] live in Imokilly, and descend from the Knight of Kerry. Supposed bastards. The eldest of this house is FitzGerald of Ballycryn timer in Imokilly, who is descended from a legitimate son to the Knight of Kerry.”—(*Vide* Pedigrees, Lambeth MS., No. 635, in Sir George Carewe’s hand Harleian MS. 1425 and Cotter MS.)



PEDIGREE OF FITZGERALD, KNIGHT OF SENESCHAL OF IMOKILLY; AND OF FITZGERALD

From the Carewe Pedigrees at Lambeth, the Cotter MS., the Harleian MS., and Burke's "L

JOHN FITZTHOMAS, Lord of Decies and Desmond, *a quo* by his first wife the Earls of Desmond descended. = HONORA, dau. of Hugh O'Connor Donn; second wife.—See Pedigree A.

MAURICE FITZGERALD, said by some authorities to be illegitimate. = dau. of O'KENNEDY.

JOHN of Rathanan and Inismore. =

A SON =

GILBERT,
ob. s. p. 1345.

MAURICE =
ob. vita pat.

JOHN =

RICHARD, first Knight of Kerry. This Richard, Knight of Kerry, and his son Maurice, had, besides their lands in Kerry, great possessions in Imokilly, which came unto him by marriage with Lord Courcies' daughter.

1. MAURICE, Knight of Kerry, of Cloyne =
Rathanan, and Inismore (Cotter).

2. RICHARD, of whom Geralt FitzPhillip the county of Kildare, is descended.

of Kerry, driven from
her Nicholas, of whom
of Ballycrynny in

3. JOHN. His portion of land was Carmona in Imokilly. This sept have now (1602) no land, and live very poorly in Imokilly.

2. NICHOLAS, a Bishop. After he had expelled his brother Edmund he was Knight of Kerry, of whom the Knight of Kerry living in A. D. 1602 descended. (Carewe.)

3. GERROTT. 4. REDMOND.
three brethren live very poorly in Imokilly.)

1. MAURICE, Seneschal =
of Imokilly.

JOHN KEIGH, or "The Blind," living 1405. In a possession of the present Knight of Kerry (18 the son of Maurice of Cloyne, and brother of N

2. REDMOND. 1. JOHN.
the issue of John and Redmond live poorly in Imokilly.)

EDMOND, Seneschal =
of Imokilly.

RICHARD, Seneschal =
of Imokilly.

MAURICE FITZGERALD, Se-
neschal of Imokilly.

SIR MAURICE
(12 Hen.
Maurice
Kerry.

of Cloyne = HONOR NY DONOGH, married, after Edmond was married, to Geralt Condon of Imokilly.

ELLEN, mar. to Wil-
liam Cogan.

of Edmond FitzMaurice,
eschal of Imokilly.

EDMUND FITZGERALD, Se-
neschal of Imokilly. = SHYLIE, dau. to Molronye
McShane O'Carroll.

1. RICHARD = Dau. of Donal McArt
O'Keefe in Barry's
country.

2. GERROT
s. p.

JOHN FITZEDMUND = HONOR, dau. to Teg M'Connogher,
brother to Donogh O'Brien, Earl
of Thomond (Harl. MS.).

2. JAMES. 3. GERALT.

1. GERALD. 2. JAMES.

REDMOND, who for long
time hath been and is
yet in Spain.

MAURICE,
a bastard.

KNIGHT OF KERRY; FITZGERALD OF CLOYNE IN IMOKILLY.

in MS., and Burke's "Landed Gentry."

O'Con-
e.—See

ome = dau. of O'KENNEDY.

night of Kerry, and =
ry, great possessions
with Lord Courcies'

ad, of whom Geralt FitzPhillippe of
ounty of Kildare, is descended.

The Blind," living 1405. In a Pedigree in the
e present Knight of Kerry (1869) he is made
rice of Cloyne, and brother of Nicholas.

MAURICE =
Knt. of Kerry.

RALD, Se- =
nokilly.

SIR MAURICE, styled
(12 Hen. VII.) Dom.
Mauricius Miles de
Kerry.

JOHN =

ROBERT
of
Allon.

dau. to Molronye
ne O'Carroll.

WILLIAM = Daughter of Fitzmaurice,
Knt. of Kerry. Lord of Lixnaw.

au. to Teg M'Connogher,
to Donogh O'Brien, Earl
mond (Harl. MS.).

EDMUND
OGE.
(Harleian MS.)

JOHN of Rathanan and Inismore,
Knight of Kerry; settled his
estates on his heirs male by
deed dated Jan. 5, 1573. He
is called a Bishop by Carew.

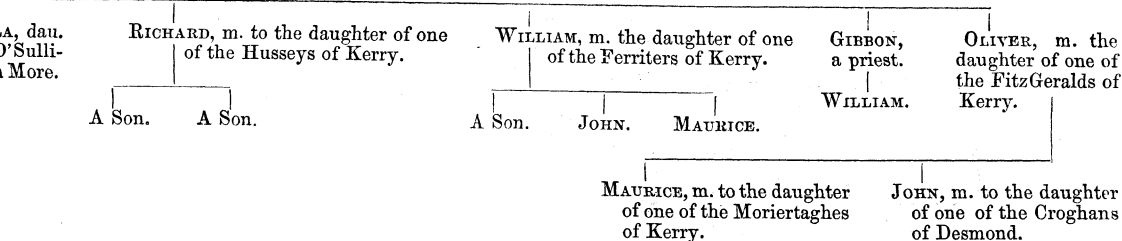
SHELA, dau.
of O'Sulli-
van More.

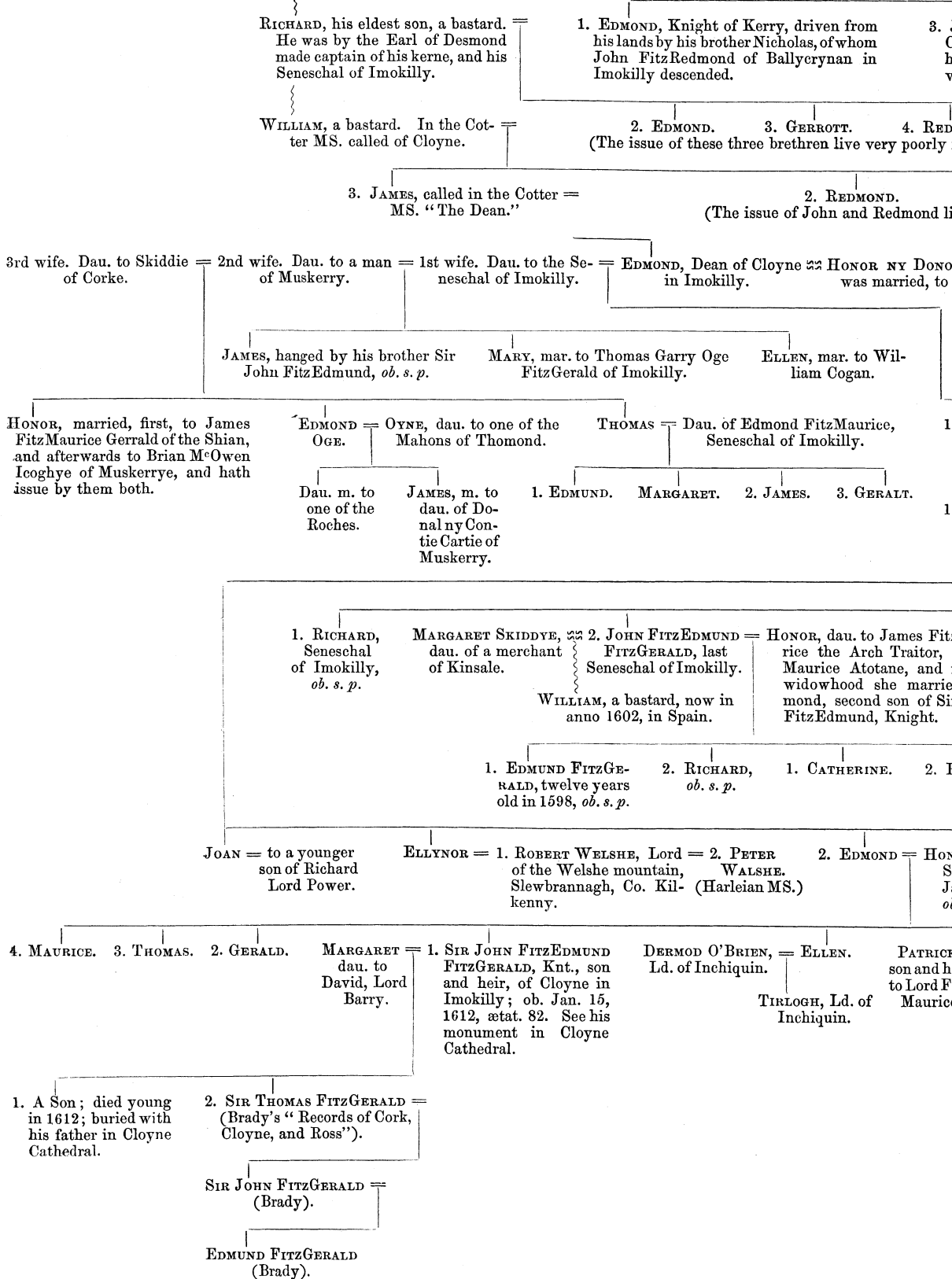
RICHARD, m. to
of the Hus

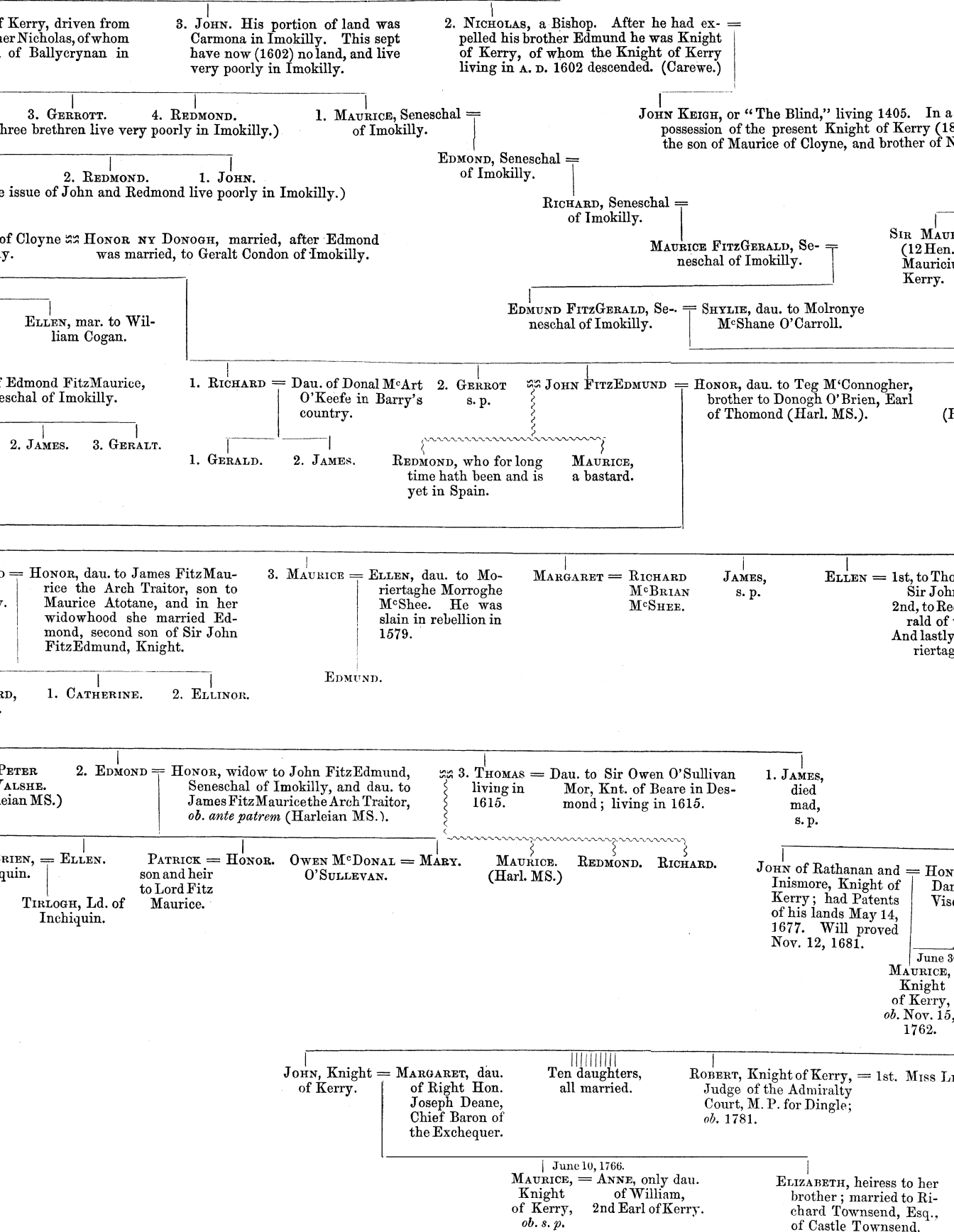
A Son. A Son.

LLY.

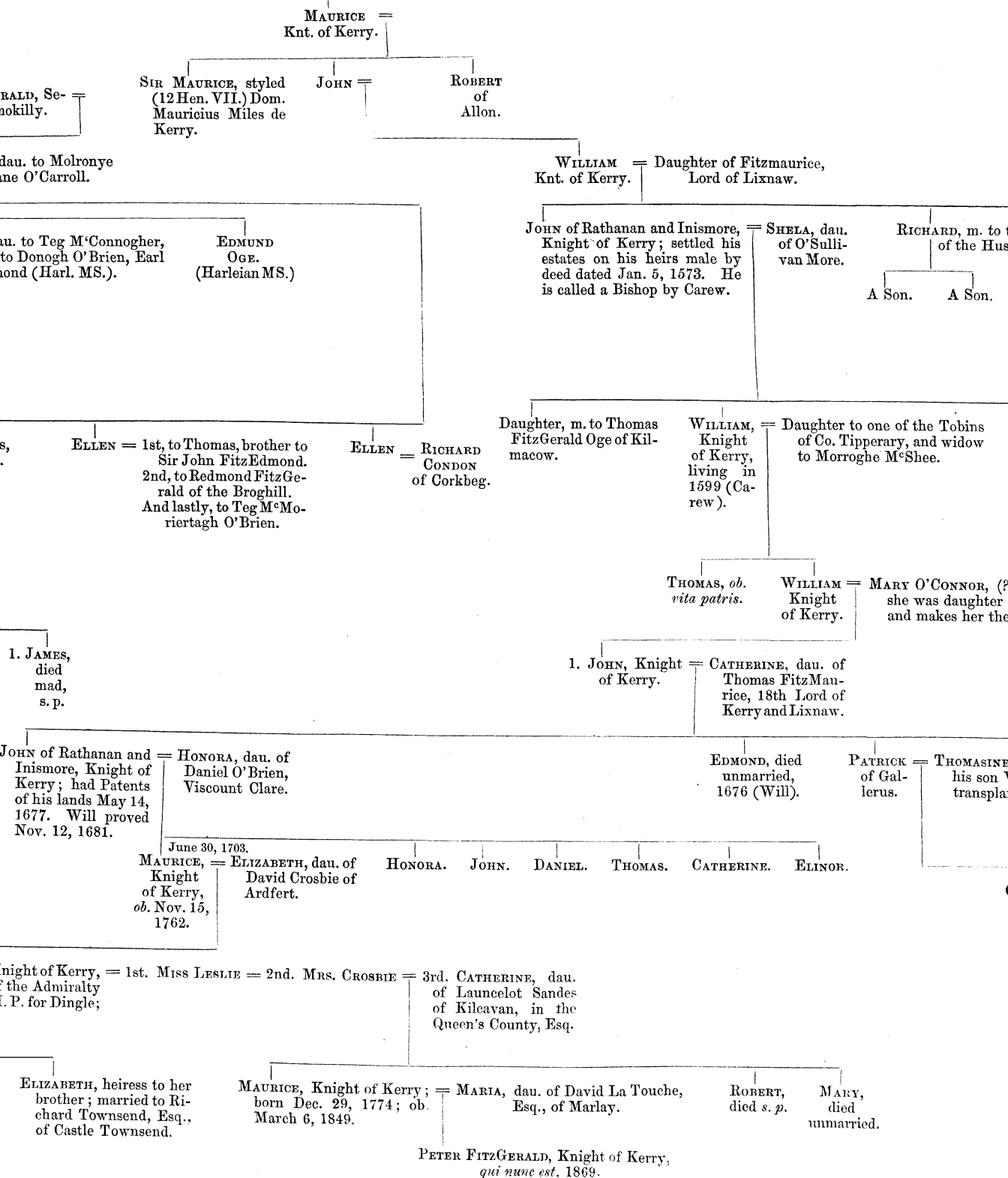
rice,



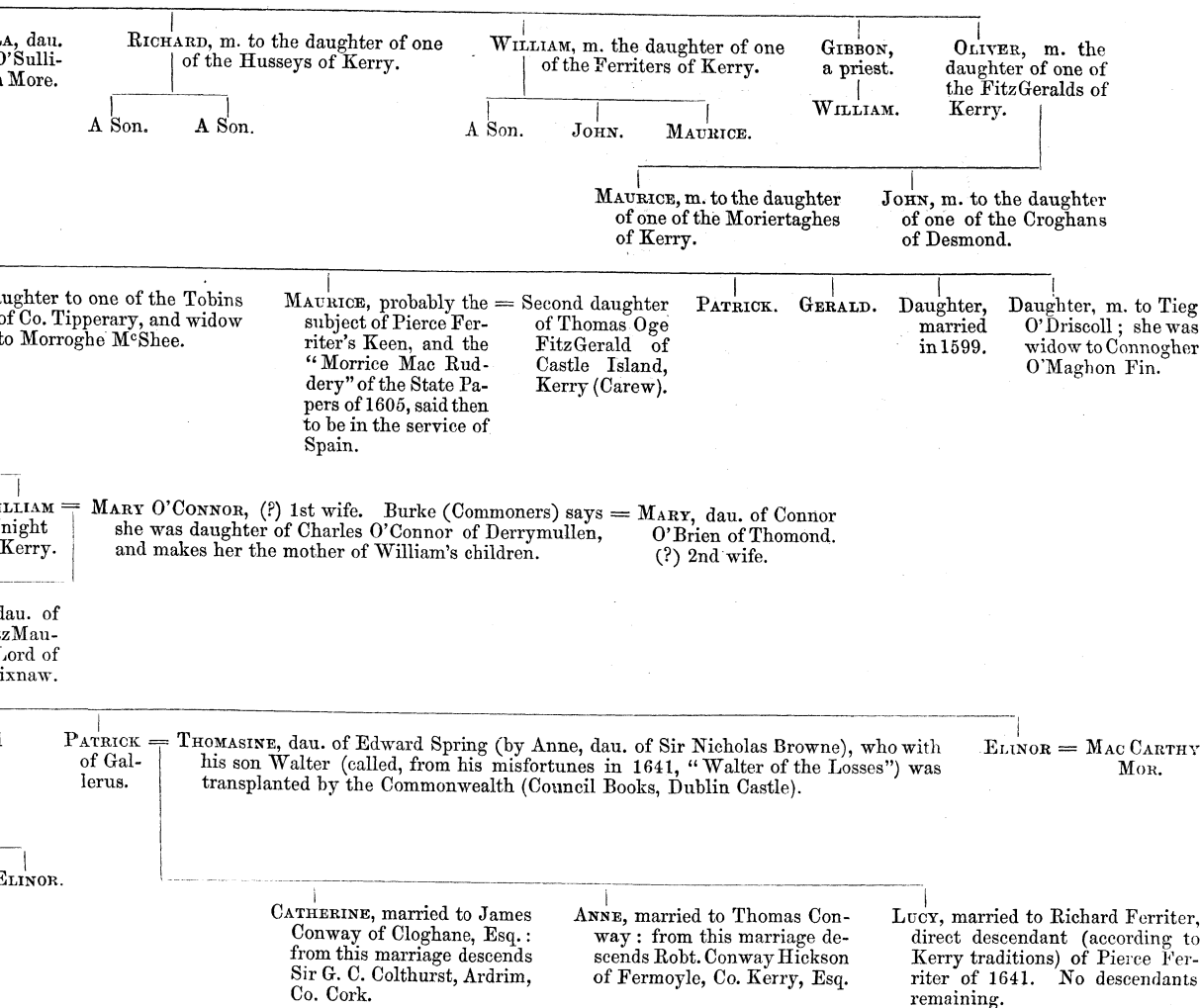




The Blind," living 1405. In a Pedigree in the
e present Knight of Kerry (1869) he is made
rice of Cloyne, and brother of Nicholas.



rice,



MARY,
died
unmarried.

schal of all the Earl of Ormond's countries (for so the Earl his brother had made him, and politely kept himself in England, as well for duty's sake to the Queen, as ancient and innate malice to the Earl of Desmond, and all Desmonians), I was quite disappointed, being answered, as well by scornful letters, as frivolous and foolish speeches, that he was able to do none; alleging that I had made him "to ride up and down the country like a priest," inferring thereby the suppressing of the most filthy and intolerable exaction of coyne and livery, used most harmfully by him, the country being quiet, and no wars, nor likely to be. I, urging him still to serve, he fell into rebellious actions; for he wasted and destroyed almost all the Queen's County, killing very many of the inhabitants of the same, but most especially all the Englishmen. . . . Then increased he his strength by stirring the Earl of Thomond to rebellion, and to resist Sir Edward Fytton, then Lo: President in Connaught and Thomond, and had with him both his brethren, Edward and Pierce, and by far the most part of all the fighting men of both the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny; for although some householders and principal gentlemen, more wary than the rest, went not, yet their sons, servants, and followers (as they term them there) went to him. And finally all Ormonists of whatever surname soever they were, except Sir Theobald Butler, Lord of the Kaer [Cahir], and the Lord Baron of Dunboyne's people (who then was in England, and under age) rebelled with him. James Fitz Mores for his part had gotten with him the Earl of Klankar, M'Donogh, M'Awley, Oc Kueefe, O'Suillivan Moore, and I think O'Suillivan Bere joined with him; and though the rest of the potentates of Munster remained (as they seemed), sound, yet their young and loose people went to him. I sent the good knight Sir Peter Carew, and the valiant Malby to keep the frontiers of Carlo and Cavanaghe's country; and the hardy and politic Captain Collier into the good town of Kilkenny, the people whereof I did not very soundly trust. Sir Peter Carew and Captain Malby gave Sir Edmond Butler a shrewd blow, after a bloody bickering and slaughter of his men, and chased them, and wan his house at Kloghrynan, and hanged the ward, Sir Edmund returning to James Fitz Mores, and both they with their forces encamped, and besieged the Town of Kilkenny, where the Earl his brother hath a strong castle, and the Town is well closed, and defended with gates, walls, and river; but had not the soldiers been, the town had been sacked, and many of the people ransomed, as I after in truth found. But Captain Collyer so vigilantly attended his charge, as well in guarding the gates and walls against the rebels, as in preventing the practice of the townsmen, as the rebels were forced to go away with shame.

Then departed I from Limerick to Dublin, and was advertised of the Earl of Thomond's revolt. . . . Now approached the Parliament. . . . During this session, the Earl of Klanckar came to me and confessed his rebellion, alleging that Sir Edmund Butler was the cause thereof. . . . Towards the end of this parliament came the ox, I should say Earl of Thomond, having found that he could find nothing in France, but according to his worth suffered to live there without relief, he made such mean to the then Lord Ambassador in France, as he obtained of Her Majesty over-great grace. He made his submission. I kept him in prison, and his Castles warded by my men."

Sir Henry closes the narrative of his second government of Ireland as Deputy, with a paragraph offering soothing contrast to the scenes of civil war, and the desolation resulting from it, which filled the Irish correspondence of his day.

"I caused to plant, and inhabit there above forty families of the reformed churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake, in one ruinous town called Surds [Swords], and truly, Sir, it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled old castle of the same town, and repaired almost all the same; and how Godly and cleanly they, their wives, and children lived. They made diaper, and ticks for beds, and other good stuff for man's use, and excellent good leather of deer skins, goat and sheep fells, as is made in Southwark."

In all these Munster "garboils and violent wars" alluded to in Sydney's letter, the Seneschal of Imokilly had shared the counsels the successes and reverses of Fitz Maurice. The reader has seen how one after another the rebels had submitted; the Earl of Clancar "upon his knees in the Cathedral church in Dublin, professing that he did so with sorrowful heart and repentant mind;" Conor Earl of Thomond "misled by evil and naughty counsel;" Sir Edmund Butler to his brother the Earl of Ormonde, who at his own request had been commissioned to receive the submission of his brothers. The Earl wrote to Her Majesty that "Sir Peter Carewe had been the cause of all this mischief but that his brother had been bewitched, as he had himself also been, but that he had recovered." The submission of these several chief promoters of rebellion left but little possibility for Fitz Maurice and the Seneschal to hold out much longer. They did

not, however, submit as speedily as might have been expected; not indeed till they had assaulted Sir Thomas of Desmond, then in obedience to Her Majesty, slain forty of his men, and hanged two Captains of his galloglas; nor until they had captured and burned the town of Kilmallock. To relate with the detail used by the Lord Deputies, in their despatches to the Privy Council, the rebellious actions, the burnings, slaughtering, and spoilings done to the Queen's friends by these Fitz Gerald's before they submitted, would require far more space than these pages could afford. It may be said that the Irish correspondence contains an ample diary of the exploits of the Seneschal of Imokilly from the year 1569 when Sir H. Sydney captured his castle of Ballymartyr, till 1583, the period of his second and final submission. The briefest summary of his actions is the utmost that can be here presented to the reader.

In 1575, Sir Henry Sydney took upon him, as he expressed himself, for the third time the thankless office of Lord Deputy. "He departed from the Queen at Dudley Castle, passed the seas, and arrived on the 14th of September, as near the city of Dublin as he could safely, for at that time the city was grievously infected, and so was the English Pale, with the pestilence. Albeit it was deep winter I travelled towards Cork." When Sir H. Sydney wrote this summary of his proceedings, in the year 1583, his memory did not serve him correctly, for it was in his second, not his third tenure of the office of Lord Deputy, that the capture of the stronghold of Ballymartyr took place; he refers to it in his narrative to Sir F. Walsyngham as occurring in 1575; it happened in reality in 1569. The account of it, bearing his own signature, as well as the signatures of the Council at Dublin, was despatched, as the reader will see, in the year last named. Sydney had landed at Carrickfergus to commence his second Deputyship on the 6th September, 1568.

THE LO: DEPUTY S^r H. SYDNEY TO THE L^{ds} OF THE COUNCIL,
OCTOBER 24TH, 1569.—CAREW MSS.

"At my beinge there [at Cork] I hard that betweene that and Youghall the Seneshall of Imokelly (beinge also a principall communicator wth James Fitz Morice) did robbe and spoyle all that contrie, and had victualled his Castell of Ballymarter, beinge bound by his tenure to defend it against all men. And by cause as well for the arrogance of the partie, as for the strength of the place, and that it might be an example to all Monster how to defend any forte against her Maties power, I determynd to march thither, w^{ch} ymmediatly I did: Summoned the Castell and had an answere from the Seneshall hymself that he wold defend it to the uttermost of his power, but after a day or two weare spent in preparacion of gabians, baskets and things necessarie for the assault, and the defence of the gounners, and that one peece of the wall was battered w^t a demy Culveryne w^{ch} I brought from Cork, the Seneshall and his companie, in the dead of the night, fledd oute of the howse by a bogge w^{ch} joynes hard to the wall, where no watche cold have prevented their escape, and the Castell beinge lefte to the spoile of the soldiers. I caused it to be garded w^t xx. shott under Jasper Horsey, brother to the Captaine of the Ile of Wight, to whome I have committed the order of that contrie of Imokelly, and made hym Seneshall of the same. At this Castell I lost one of my household servaunts, and two or three other hurt w^t shott, amongst w^{ch} the Mr. Gonner, Thomas Elliott, was one, manfully standing by his peece, w^{ch} is some satisfacion for that small gifte w^{ch} it pleased her Matie lately to bestowe upon hym."

In his summary, which contains but a passing reference to this assault of Ballymartyr, Sydney adds, "There I left a ward which continued long after." It continued, as did the suspension of his office, till the rebel Seneschal made his first submission, and received his pardon in February, 1573. "The cannonier, old Thomas Elliott (now suitor at the court), was stricken through the thigh." Sydney was in Lord Barry's country when tidings reached him of the daring design of the Seneschal to attack the town of Kilmallock. "Then and there," continues his narrative, "I heard that the rebel James and his associates went afore me wasting and destroying the Queen's good subjects, as well of the County of Cork as of the County of Limerick, and therefore was constrayned to alter my former intention of going into Desmond, and turned towards the County of Limerick; but I could not get so far as Kilmallock, but that the rebel had by scale surprised the same town; not without vehement suspicion of falsehood in many of the townsmen; for some he saved, many he sacked, some he ransomed, and many houses of base building he burned, which afterwards were re-edified, and the same made better than ever it was."

This was, happily, the last of the terrible exploits of Fitz Maurice and his Seneschal

during the first Geraldine rebellion : they shortly after submitted to Sir John Perrott, the new Lord President of Munster ; when by a just retribution, the ceremony of their public submission took place in the Church of Kilmallock amongst the ruins of the town which they had so recently destroyed. They, like the other penitent chieftains, had been misled by “the evil allurements of the Earl of Clan Car and Sir James [*Recte* Edmund] Butler.” After these various submissions Munster was reported to Her Majesty as in tranquillity ; she was assured that the Province was passable by every stranger without safe conduct ; and the Lord President Perrott wrote “The plough doeth now laugh the unbridled rogue to scorn,” though, he added with ominous suspicions of the future, that he wished the Earl of Desmond could be sent back to England. The Earl had been recently liberated from his long captivity ; his infant son had been taken from him as hostage for his good behaviour, and he had been allowed to return to Ireland, not immediately as a free man, but to Dublin, where he was to await the further pleasure of Her Majesty, or, in plainer language, till further proof was had of the peaceable intentions of the late rebellious Geraldines.

During the last five years little more than an occasional mention of spoil made upon Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had kept that loyal gentleman in the memory of the Privy Council. It had indeed been made known to them that he was so cruelly hated by the rebels that he had been obliged to fly from his home, and take refuge in Cork. But if he had been unable to offer Her Majesty active service, he was too good a subject to appeal inopportunely for indemnity for his losses ; but now that tranquillity was restored in Munster he thought it not inexpedient to present his petition, humbly setting forth his services and sufferings, and his prayer for Her Majesty’s gracious consideration of his suits. This petition, and the Lord Deputy’s opinion of it are laid before the reader as an instance of the ingenious manner in which loyal subjects could seek the reparation of their losses without direct appeal to the Royal Exchequer.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LL. AND OTHERS OF THE QUENES MA^{TIES}
PRIVIE COUNSELL.

“Humble sheweth unto yo^r hono^{rs} John Fitz-Edmonde Fitz-Gerald of Clone in the Countie of Corke gent. That whereas he ever since the begynnyng of the Rebellion of James Fitz-Morishe hath contynued constante in his bounden dewtie to the Quene’s Ma^{tie} againste the said traitor and all his adherents, and uppon affiaunce of his loialtie & trewe service was appointed Shreif of the countie of Corck, in which office contynnyng two yeres he hath maynteyned a greate number of horsemen, galloglas, shotte and kerne uppon his owne costs wthout any Her Ma^{tys} charges, wth w^{ch} force he hath not onelie killed at sundrie tymes verie manye of the said traito^{rs}, but also hath not spared the due execution of his owne followers and nerest freindes when they have forsaken him, and inclined to the p^{te} of the Rebels. For w^{ch} his faithfull service towards the Quene’s Ma^{tie} he hath bin so maliced & hated of the Rebels, as they haue not onelie burned all his townes & villages to the utter banishinge of th^e inhabitants of the same, but also haue robbed, spoiled & consumed all his goods & cattells and thereby brought him from a gentleman of good abilitie to lyve, to extreme povertie not able to mayneteyne himself & and his people about him in the service of Her Ma^{tie} as his harte desireth, of the p^{ti}cularities of w^{ch} his doings because he will not be ouer tedious unto yo^r LL. he humble praieth yo^u that it may please yo^u to informe yo^rselves of the late L. Deputie, Sr Humfrey Gilbert & Mr Jasp^r Horsey and any other Cap^{ens} or gentlemen that serued the Quenes Ma^{tie} in that p^{vi}nce in the tyme of his governm^t, and of the L. Deputie that nowe is, the L. President of Munster, Mr. Edward Barkley, & any others that serveth Her Ma^{tie} there in this tyme. In consideration of w^{ch} his fidelitie & service & in respecte of his great losses susteyned by the same, He humbleth sueth unto yo^r LL. to be a meane to the Quenes Ma^{tie} to haue favorable consideration of him in these his suits followinge, viz :—

“1.—That he may haue the late dessolved monasterie of Chore in fee farme for some resonable rente the same being nowe so over rated at xxxv^{li} Irishe per annum, as no farmo^r will or dothe take it, nor Her Ma^{tie} hath presentlie thereof any rente at all.

“2.—Item where the Abby of Tractane is lett for xviii yeres yet to come, He desireth the Rev^{sion} thereof in feefarme for the accustomed rente of vii^{li} Irishe per annum.

"3.—Item the fee farme of the p'sonags of Ballimarter & Cork begg w^{ch} he himself holdeth of her Ma^{tie} in lease for xvi yerres yet to come for the yerelie rente of viii^{li} xvi^s per annum.

"4.—Item where the comon gaole of the Cittie of Corke, nowe decaied, is knownen at this daie & is called by the name of the Kings Castle whereunto there belonged a Constable & a fee. All prisoners being nowe kepte abroad in seuerall howses by gentelmen in the cuntrey & elsewhere who for frendshipp or covetousnes of ransomes do discharge & sett at libertie the saide prisoners at their owne plesures, wth great inconvenience and to the lett & hinderance of justice. He dothe desier that it might please her Ma^{tie} to renewe the said office of constableness wth some resonable fee to be levied of the issues & p'fits of the Sessions there, and to make him officer thereof to him & to his heires. He off'reth to builde & mayneteyne it at his owne costs & charges, so it would please Her Ma^{tie} to write to the L. President to p'cure some benevolent contribucion by the cuntrey towards the said buyldinge."

SIR HENRY SYDNEY TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"1.—It may please yo^r Ll. y^t for M^r Fizedmonds first demand, it shal be verye well done that her Ma^{tie} do grawnt it him at resonable surveye for that it being to hilye surveyed at the first dissolution her Ma^{tie} hathe had noe rent therefore. The partye well deservyth the same as well for his losses sustayned in her Mat^s service, as also for his honestye and civillite.

"2.—The Second was grawnted and gyven by her Ma^{ty} to one M^r. Henrye Guldeford for lxi yerres, whoe made over his interest thereof to S^r. Warham S^t Leger knight and so not to be grawnted.

"3.—The Third. I wold wishe that the parsonage of Ballemartre shold be annexed to the howse, he enjoying the yerres thereof as yet unexpired: for Corke Bege yo^r Ll. to use yo^r favorable consideration towards him, and the rather for the considerations aforesayed.

"4.—For the fowrthe I wold wishe for th' advancement of her Ma^{ty}s sarvice that the comon gayle were erected at Corck, upon the chargs of the contrye, issues and profitts of the Session wth some convenient fee, yet the constableness thereof not to be grawnted to anyman more then for his life, and so to this man for y^t I think him mete therefore, if y^t wear a great deal better.¹

"SYDNEY.

Dorso. "2 Julie 1572, Jo. Fitz Edmondes Fitz Garret."

The distrust shown by the authorities in Dublin of the loyalty of the Earl of Desmond produced the mischief they so much dreaded; he had fulfilled, as far as his limited liberty enabled him to do, the conditions exacted from him as the price of his freedom; but he was not allowed to return to his country. Eight months had passed away and he was still a prisoner in Dublin Castle. Wearied at last of remonstrating against the injustice of such captivity, he escaped; or, to describe his departure more accurately, he withdrew. This mode of return to his own territory left the Irish authorities little doubt of the evil days that awaited them. They speedily learned that "the Earl had been met at Knockdalton by Rory Oge and Pierce Grace, and conducted by them through Kildare; that at Leix he was received by 400 of the O'Mores, and at Limerick by James Fitz Maurice; that the Earl and Countess put on Irish raiment at Lough Gur, and made a proclamation." On the 25th of November, 1573, the Earl wrote from Ballyallyne to the Lord Deputy and Council that "eight months were long enough to determine his causes; that he had had neither favour nor liberty shown him, and that his country had been barely fleeced in his absence." On the 13th of

¹ Amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 6993, iii., a letter is preserved from Sir Walter Raleigh, dated from Lismore, to the celebrated Earl of Leicester, which concludes with the following postscript:—

"I am bold, being bound by very conscience

to commend unto your honour's consideration, the pitiful estate of John Fitz Edmonds, of Cloyne, a gentleman, & the only untouched & proved true to the Queen, both in this & the last Rebellion: Sir Warham [St. Leger] can deliver his service, what he is & what he deserveth."

December, he wrote from Askeaton to the Queen relating the griefs and discountenance he endured at Dublin; "the sending away his wife in miserable poverty; and his chest of evidences embezzled." Such, he also informed Lord Burghley, were the causes of his leaving Dublin.

The rebellions that had raged hitherto in Munster, though essentially Geraldine rebellions, are not what were designated the Wars of Desmond; these are usually dated from the time of the Earl's flight from Dublin, although he was not proclaimed a Traitor by Sir W. Pelham, the Lord Deputy, and his Council till Nov. 1579. When it became of importance to decide on what precise day the Earl's rebellion actually began, it was dated from the day of his signature of a certain "Instrument of combination of treason" in an assembly of his followers soon after his departure from Dublin, six years earlier. To this instrument of combination of treason the attention of the reader will be called later; no document producing consequences of equal public importance had been signed in Ireland. Estimating the signification of the term rebellion as it was usually applied by the English authorities to Irish chieftains, or others who had large lands for distribution, the Earl might have been proclaimed a traitor from the year 1568, the 10th of Her Majesty's reign, when by his quarrels with the Earl of Ormonde, regardless of English law, of Queen, and Deputy, but within the limits of his rights as an Irish chieftain, he plunged the whole of Munster into open party warfare; even by an indulgent extension of the term, his rebellion might not unreasonably have been dated from the day of his reception by the O'Mores, and his conduct at Lough Gur; but the Lord Deputy and Council had not the courage to push matters rashly to extremity; on the contrary "using him mildly," as they informed the Privy Council, "till they might have sufficient force." They wrote repeated letters to him, varying in style from mild rebuke for "the rashness of his escape at such a time" to friendly counsel "not to ingrieve his own cause; that what he had as yet done was but a finable contempt;" and finally they informed him that they had Her Majesty's letters to give him his liberty! All was in vain; the great rebellion destined to endure as long as the Earl lived, a period of 10 years longer, was in reality begun. It is not the purpose of these pages to supply, as they might do, many dramatic details not hitherto published of this well known terrible civil war which depopulated the whole of the south of Ireland, but to relate, and that with much brevity, the part borne in it by the Fitz Gerald's of Cloyne and Ballymartyr.

The shrillest note of warning of coming mischief that reached the Government came, as might have been expected, from the intelligencers employed to watch the conduct of James Fitz Maurice. The Lord Deputy was informed that he had sailed on board a French Merchant ship with his wife and daughters to France. He himself wrote that he did so "for the recovery of his health and to make friendship to come to the Queen's favour." Thither intelligencers immediately followed them, and it was not long before the Privy Council was informed that he was living at St. Malos "keeping a great port, well apparelled, and full of money, having oft intelligence from Rome, and out of Spain." Nearly at the same time were intercepted the two following genial letters from the wife of Fitz Maurice to an assured friend, and to her mother, informing them that their voyage had been prosperous, and their reception honourable and friendly:—

ENCLOSED IN A LETTER FROM THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL IN DUBLIN
TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY AND THE EARLS OF SUSSEX AND
LEICESTER.

"Wyth my harty cōmendacyons to youe me trusty frend letting youe to understande that my husbāde and I wth the rest of o^r company came in good helth to Fraunce, thankes be to God, aduertissing you that my housbāde was in the kings corte at the wrytting hyroof and that I did nott receiv his nyves at the departing of this letter, but yo^a shall understand at his goyng to the corte he was honorably receved be the governor of Brytain and be the bussop of the Nantes, youe shall further understand, I remayn in Sainct Malos uppō myn one chardgs, wth a cople of gentillmē of my husbādes coussins, and my maydnes, wher I ame welbestowth and honestly used. I desire yo^a to haue my cōmēded to my cousin my L. Puer, and to my cousin Richard, and to all me cousins and frendes, Requyring them to be good to me poure serwants in my absēce, as Richard Chahill, James Ronā and others that to my doth belong, yo^a

shall send this oth'er I're to my mother, byding hir and you allso to send all nyves to my wth this berer, and so I take my leav wth youe from Sainet Malos in Fraunce, the xxviii of Aprill, 1575.

"Yo^r assured frend,
"KATREN BURKE."

Superscribed. "To mylouinge and moste assured frende Ihone O'Dvyn in Kilvarry be Watterforde in Irelād, Gev this wth trust."

1 Lodge informs us that Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, called Maurice Duffe Mac-an-Early, or black Maurice son of the Earl John (whom he calls 14th Earl of Desmond,) was married to Julian, second daughter of Dermot O'Ryan of Sulloghode, Co. Tipperary, and by her had a son James Fitz Maurice (the Arch-Traitor) who was married to Honora, daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, by whom he had an only daughter who married first John Fitz Edmund Gerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, and secondly Sir Edmund son and heir of Sir John Fitz Edmunds of Cloyne," whose issue he continues to trace. For this marriage of James Fitz Maurice with a daughter of Ryan no authority is given; if he was as often married as his uncle James Fitz John, one of his earlier wives may have been, as Mr. Lodge asserts, the daughter of Dermot O'Ryan, and by her he may have had the issue named; but the letter just laid before the reader proves beyond doubt that the wife of James Fitz Maurice, and the mother of his children, was Katren Burke. From the signature to the letter, and the name of her mother, Margaret Power, as well as from the terms of her message, to be "commended to my Father your bedfellow, and all other friends," it would seem that her mother, widow of a Burke, had contracted a second marriage with a Power. In confirmation of the evidence in the letter, which indeed requires none, we have amongst the State Papers of Ireland: (Eliz. Oct' 25, 1582), a paper of memoranda in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, containing two or more generations of the various great Lords and chieftains then living in the South of Ireland, and amongst them mention of the marriage of James Fitz Maurice, more precise than is to be found elsewhere:—"S^r. Moryce of Desmond, uncle to y^e Erle of Desmond, he dwelt in Kerry-Wherry, [his son] Sir Jams Fitz Moryce, married to fi^a [filia] W. Burk of y^e muskry, their daughter, [whose name is not given] married to Edmund Fitz Seneschall of Imo-Kelly. From the blank space in the original opposite the name of Maurice Du, it would appear that the name of his wife was not known to Lord Burghley. None of the State Papers (so many of which are occupied with the doings of James Fitz Maurice—invariably styled the Arch-Traitor, who was incessantly watched by spies both in Ireland and on the Continent, whose business it was to report to the Government every discoverable incident, not less of his domestic than of his public life), make mention of any wife but Katrin Burke. But there is in existence a document of greater authenticity than any that reached Lord Burghley, which would suggest the probability of an earlier marriage, and one of a very strange character, of which no trace is discoverable elsewhere. In the year 1583, Sir Cormac M^cTeig Mac Carthy was dying in his Castle of Blarney, and made his will, which has been preserved till now. The earliest passage in this will is remarkable—"And I proteste before God that Johan Butler is my lawfull wedded wife, and that Ellyn Barret was at the time I wed her, and before, the lawfull wife of James Fitz Maurice, and so Cor-

moke ogge my son is my lawfull and undoubted heire of my body lawfully begotten."

The name of this lady appears no more in this document, but there occurs a multitude of bequests to Mac Carthys, whose names, chiefly Donoghs and Teigs, afford little help to their identification. Turning from this will to the pedigrees of the Muskerry Mac Carthys, preserved at Lambeth, in Vol. 635, we find it stated, that "Sir Cormac was twice married. First to Ellen daughter to James Lee of Barretts, and divorced because of a former marriage with James Fitz Maurice Fitz Gerald, by whom he (Sir Cormac) had a son Donogh married to a daughter of Donall M^cOwen Iloyghie M^cShihie of Draykay; and a daughter Grany married to Owen M^cTeig Mac Carthy of the Drishane; and secondly to Joane, daughter to Pierce Butler of the Grallaghe."

In a second pedigree in the same collection at Lambeth, Vol. 626, Fols. 6 and 7, the name of Donogh occurs as a natural son of Sir Cormac; the name of the mother is not mentioned, but the marriage of Donogh with a daughter of Donal M^cOwen M^cTeig, Galloglas, appears duly.

This would be unintelligible but for the light thrown upon it by the will of Sir Cormac; returning to this document, we find this Iloyghie appointed, with others, to see the conditions of the will carried out, and to protect the interests of the Donoghs and others to whom legacies are left. The conclusion seems inevitable, that Ellen (called Ellen Lee of Barretts in the pedigree) had passed as the wife of Sir Cormac, and was the mother of several children to him; and that when he was about to marry Joan Butler, this lady was put away: there remains the doubt, whether the James Fitz Maurice, whose wife she was then opportunely discovered to be, was the Arch-Traitor! Sir Cormac took no pains to designate the husband of Ellen, whom he called Ellen Barrett not Ellen Lee, otherwise than by his name, as if no other were needed; and certainly we know of no other James Fitz Maurice before the world at the time.

As to the children of James Fitz Maurice, by Catherine Burke, it is certain that he had at least four; that is, two sons, and two daughters.

Dominic O'Daly, in his history of the Geraldines, has preserved for us an interesting account of the reception of these sons at the court of Spain.

"He (James Fitz Maurice), therefore, departing for Rome, brought along with him his two sons, for they were as yet unfit to wield the sword. . . . From France Fitz Maurice proceeded to Spain, where he was received at the Court of Philip II. . . . When the king saw the two boys, Maurice and Gerald, he loved them; and, in truth, they were fair to behold, and well worthy his affection. He, therefore, resolved to take them to himself, and committed them to the charge of Cardinal Granville, then Legate a Latere at the Court of Madrid. Well did the illustrious Cardinal watch

ENCLOSURE IN A LETTER FROM THE L. DEPUTY, ETC., 15 MAY, 1575.

"Loving mother, after my harty cōmendacyons p'missid, lettting youe to understande that wy came in good helth at Easter Munday to Saint Malos in Fraunce where wy were honestly and gentyly receved be the Captein of the said twne and other

over them. At the royal expense they were educated in the University of Alcalá, and trained in all the science of chivalry befitting their noble origin. And here let me speak of these noble youths. In the King's court, and in the presence of His Majesty, did their innate humour move to mirth, whilst the character of nobility stamped upon them excited the compassion of those who know their history. Cardinal Granville acted on many occasions as interpreter for them; and the quickness of their comprehension, as well as mirthful repartee, won the admiration of all who heard them. . . . Amongst those attached to the youthful Geraldines, let me mention Thomas Granville, nephew to the Cardinal, who loved them with a brother's love, and who, when Maurice (the eldest) died, became so devoted to Gerald, that he never could bear to leave his side. Alas! how faithful was this attachment; for, when this expedition against England was undertaken, A. D. 1588, Granville insisted on embarking with Gerald in the same ship in which (Oh! grief of griefs!) both were lost on the Irish coast."—"The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond," translated by the Rev. C. P. Moehan.

It would appear that one, if not both of the sons of Fitz Maurice, accompanied their father, when he returned to Ireland; for on the 18th of September, 1580, Richard Moagher, Sovereign of Kinsale, wrote to the Commissioners of Munster, "James Fitz Maurice's two sons are come as Captains with the Spanish expedition." It is not probable that the younger of these sons was in that expedition; but of one of them, doubtless Maurice, the elder, we discover unexpected trace in a letter of May 28, 1580, from Ormonde to Walsingham. . . . "The Lord of Upper Ossory was charged with receiving into his country the late traitor James Fitz Maurice's son, called by the name of Richard Burke, from that most wicked and detestable traitor Pierce Grace."

In his account of the death of Fitz Maurice, O'Daly says:—"He marched towards Connaught, where he contemplated being joined by John Burke, brother of the Marquis of Clanrickard; . . . but while passing over the lands of Theobald Burke *his near kinsman*, he was not a little surprised to find Theobald himself at the head of a large force pursuing him, &c. Fitz Maurice sent one of his men to Theobald, beseeching him to draw off his forces and not offer outrage to one so *nearly allied to him*." This mention of the close alliance of Fitz Maurice with the Burkes is the nearest approach we are able to make to the discovery of the precise parentage of his wife Katrin Burke. We know from the memorandum in Lord Burghley's writing, that her father was "William Burke of the Muskry." An Irish writer would have given the Christian names of William's father and grandfather, and probably have traced them to the head of their family; Lord Burghley leaves us in the uncertainty which of a multitude of William Burkes this one was; from the expression of O'Daly "one so nearly allied to him," the four suggests itself, that William Burke, the father of Catherine, was probably

the son of Sir William, made Lord of Castleconnell, on account of Fitz Maurice's death. If so, Fitz Maurice fell by the hand of his wife's uncle. But, if there existed some confusion in the accounts of the marriages of James Fitz Maurice, there is nearly as much as to the subsequent marriage of his widow. That this poor lady had sore need of a husband, and of a powerful one, to protect her, is but too evident; for she was, after the failure of the Spanish attempt to support the rebels, flying and hiding for her life. On the 31st March, 1580, Walsingham was informed, that "the Traitors were like savage beasts, lurking in wild desert places." And on the same day another correspondent wrote to him that "the late Traitor James Fitz Maurice's wife was taken in a deep cave in a rock, with others, by Ormond's horsemen." Only two months earlier, Thomas Arthur had written to Sir N. Malbie, that "on the 29th of December, Sir John of Desmond burned the residue of Sir William Burke's country, twenty-six townes, in revenge for the death of James Fitz Maurice, slain by his son Tibot. The Lord McMorris [the Baron of Lixnawe] has put away Sir Donal O'Brien's daughter to marry J. Fitz Maurice's widow." This very definite assertion appears, however, to have been erroneous; the next and last mention made in the State Papers of this lady, occurs in a letter of the 15th of June, 1581, from Captain John Case, to Sir Francis Walsingham, from which we learn, that she had, indeed, married again, though not to the Baron of Lixnawe, and that she was already a second time a widow. The Chief Captain of the Galloglasses, who had married Fitz Maurice's widow, and was slain by Colonel Zouche, was probably one of the Mac Sheehys, hereditary Galloglasses to the Earl.

"CAP. J. CASE TO WALSYNGHAM.
Vol. cxlvii., art. 58, June 15, 1581.

"My humble dewghty unto your honore, may it pleas youe to Consecdere that sence I came into Ireland I could not fynd a daies service to bowste [This word was first written *bestowe*, it was then erased with the pen, and *bowste* written over] I was at before now; it is so righte honorable that uppon Saterdag the tenth of June at two of the Clocke in the aftre none we departed out of Dinglell our Collonell Mr. Zouche myselfe and Capten Acham towards Castell Mange with vij^{xx} footmen and xxx^t horsmen; the Collonell I myself and Capten Acham with xxx^t horsmen and x shotte wente before to Castell Mange and hearynge that the Earle of Desmond, John of Desmond, Daved berrey, Patrick Condey and the senshall with the theyre holl forces lay with in seven mylles of us and that John, Daved berrey, and the senshall were gon up into mackayrtes Cowntre for a pray, with the theys fewe horsmen we had. beinge the day broken, we gott up of our beste horses and bracke forrey to the Erles Campe and came to it aboute the risenge of the

Mr. Zowche, Case,
and Capt. Acham
depart from Dingle
120 footemen
and 30 Horse

Thennemye goeth
into Mc Garties
cuntry for a pray
whom followe

honest and gentlemen of the twne, and wth in a sevenight after wy haue landed my husband went towards the corte wth half a dossē mē honestly apointed, leving my and me cousin Hary Rian in Sainet Malos, wetting for his nyves spe'ding, uppō of oune chardgs, and at the wryttinge hyreof wy had nott his nyves, but only at his goying up to the corte he mete wth the gov^rnor of Bryttain be whom he was honorably received. I desyre yo^r loving mother nott to be offended wth my for my com'ng to youe unknowē and to sende my yo^r blissing, wth all nyves, wth this berer Jho' Grud, besiching yo^r to be gwd to all my serwants in my absent praying my brother in like case to be so: haue my cōmēded to me father yo^r bedfellow and to all me frēdes and so I take leav wth youe from Sainet Malos the xxviii of Aprill 1575: yo^r loving doctor.

"KATREN BURKE.

"Post Scripta, wth my harty cōmēdacyons to yo^r, mistres Puer, and to my loving frend yo^r husband, besiching to be good to Jho' McFarill who has my sone, and lett him understand, I haue send him a milche kow at my cōming wth my boy Edmonde Kiegh, youe shall haue my cōmēded to More Care and t[ell] hir I was in good helt at the wrytting hyreof, and lett hir send my all nyves closed in youe, and also lett Jho' McFarill send me word did he recev the cow or the value in monny. Thus I end wth youe besiching God to send us a mery met[ing] from Sainet [Malos] aforesaid,

"Yo^r trusty and assured frend

"HENRY RYANE."

Dorso. "To my loveinge mother Margaret Puer gev this wth sped."

Vigilant eyes quickly discovered that the Seneschal went and came between the Earl of Desmond and Fitz Maurice in his retreat at St Malo. The conduct of the Earl became at last intolerable to the Government, and the Lord Deputy Sir William Pelham was compelled, much against his will, and as it proved, very greatly to the displeasure of the Queen and the Privy Council of England, to proclaim him a traitor. This was done on the 2nd November, 1579, and from that day all disguise was thrown aside as useless by the Earl's

sonne, wheare we found redy in the towne wheare
Thennemyes force they lay aboute the num-
400. bere of iij^e gentillmen gally-
glase and Keyrne wth was
mor then we looked for, but

then no remedy but to charge them wth the
Collonell did and that very valyantly, by wth.
meanes we bracke them; the on half tooke to a
bogge and the othere downe to Lowghe lande

They charge them which we followed and slewed
and breake them to the nombre of forty of
into two partes. the beste of them, amongeste

of his princepall the Cheyf Captain of his gal-
lasses on that had married James Fitzmores

The names of ye wif, James fites John fites gar-
principal yt were rett the Earls neare Kynsman,
slyne. Daved Duffe his Judge, Teige

sell, men of great estymacion with hym besides
divers soore hurte; this donne we retourned backe
agayne to the villedge wheare Desmond and his

Desmond himselfe Countes was in a lettell ston
being lodged in a house, we thoughte to a
small howse to do it and as we weare redy
hardly escaped to do it theye came aboute the
thorough want of nombre of a seven scoore
there footmen. with the swardes and tergettes

we charged, wheare withe we had dyvers of our
horses hurte but non of our selves, but we
overe threwe them and put them all to flyghte
and Kyled and hurte dyvers of them, but our
horses was so far sett downe that the moste of
them for ranne us oppon theyre feett; so fynd-
enge our horses wery and the enymy sekonge to
cut the paise from us we retrayed fayre and esely
takinge no spoyll of neythere

They are driven horse nor cowe wheare theye
to retraye by rea- was at the leaste xxth; this
son of ye faintnes haith the mor greved Desmond
of their horse.

then all the Lose he haith had sence his
rebellyon, but if we had bene able to have
broughte our footmen thithere, wth was comed
withe in iij mylles we had taken the Earle his
wif & frendes that weare in a baggaige house.

They that weare slayne weare the prid of all his
traitors whom thoughte not to have bene overe
thrown withe so small a

If their footmen had come in tyme
Desmond had, the gevver of all victory
been taken. haith at this tyme delyvered
them into our handes his
blessed name be prayed for it: thus haveinge
trubled your honore withe theys fewe Lynes I
am moste humbly to crave youe honors good
frenshipe towards me accordyng to youe
accustomed goodnes to all of my Coott that
standes in ned, thus moste humbly I talke my
Leve at Dingell Coushe the xvth. of June 1581.

"Youre honors moste humble
and wholly to Comaund,

"JHON CASE.

Thennemy hath in
his campe 1600
able men.

"The enymys campe ys at
this present abovte xvj^e. able
men and lyes in Desmond in
Mac Cartys contry, o^r Coronell served thys day
so vallyantly as I have seen
no man better and kylled iij
or iijj of the best hym selfe.

Commendacon of
Mr. Zouche.

Addressed,

"To the righte honorable Sir Fraunces Wal-
singgam Knyghte principall Secretary unto
hir Maigestie and on of hir Prevy Counsell
this be, deylivered at the Coorte or els
wheare."

The signature and postscript are alone in
the handwriting of Cap^t. Case.

friends, and rebellion blazed again fiercely throughout Munster. Foremost in these, as in all previous troubles, was the Seneschal of Imokilly. His open adhesion to his chieftain was signalized by an act of the utmost defiance of the Earl of Ormonde, who had again been appointed General of the Queen's forces for the suppression of this rebellion. He burst into the country of the Butlers, and "burned Nenagh and 12 more of Ormond's towns." From this time to the close of his career the despatches of successive Lord Deputies contain ample record of the exploits of this determined and implacable rebel. He was reported wounded, and, more than once, as slain; and each time the contradiction of his death came accompanied with tidings of some fresh assault, and not seldom, of some signal success against the royal forces, or the Queen's good subjects. Shortly after the burning of Ormonde's towns, "Sir Walter Rawley returning from Dublin had a hard escape from the Seneschal, who set on him with 14 horse and sixty foot."¹ "About twelfth-tide the Seneschal of Imokilly killed 36 of Pers's soldiers, and 10 of Sir W. Morgan's, as they had been to get a prey." In June of the year following he burned thirty-six towns in the Decies and carried off seven thousand head of kine; in October he slew sixty of the chief townsmen of Cashel.

The following letter written by St. Leger, then Commissioner of Munster, to Lord Burghley, will enable the reader to form some idea of the deplorable condition to which not Cork only, but the entire province of Munster, was reduced by these terrible struggles. The description of the city of Cork itself may cause some surprise when it is considered that it was the seat of Government, a fortified city, and the Capital of the Province. It may appear doubtful whether the writer could really mean that "the Town was but one street, not half a quarter of a mile in length;" but it is not obvious what other meaning his words could bear.² The passage relative to the slaying of two of Lord Roche's sons by the Seneschal is a lamentable instance of the cruelty with which these contentions were accompanied. We learn from a petition to the Queen from a sister of this unfortunate Nobleman that he had no fewer than five sons slain in these wars:—

SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER TO LORD BURGHEY.

"My humble dutie don' to yo^r L. Th' experience I haue of yo^r honorable dealings and good acceptance of my former rude l^res ymboldneth mee to acquaint yo^r L. wth a l^re I nowe write to the Queene's Mat^y concerning the state of this Province. The copie whereof, as also a plat of my poore opinion howe this rebellion may bee soone ended, I send yo^r honor^e heereinlosed, humbly desiring yo^r L. in yo^r conference wth her highnes therein, to yeelede my said l^re and plat yo^r favor^{able} allowance, and wth all to beseeche her Mat^y in my behalf not to condempne mee ouer busy in dealing in matters of so great weight; Protesting to God, the cause that moveth mee thereto is discharge of my dutie the zeale I beare to aduancee her highnes service and the well dooinge of this poore afflicted countrie, w^{ch} by the great murders and spoiles don' by the Traitors of th^r one side and the killinge and spoiles don' by the soldi^{ers} in service on th^r other side, together wth the greate ymposition of Sesse, is becom' so ruined and waste as I holde it irrecouerble, wthowt the present aid and helpe of her Mat^y: for by these disorders and banishing of plowes, (w^{ch} shulde bee the relief of men to live) there is sutch famin among the people heere, as it is to be feared this province, or the greatest parte therof, will ere it be longe be unpeopled, the mortalitie beeing sutch as the like hath not ben knownen in life of man. There dyeth son^e dayes in this Towne (beeing but one streete not half a quarter of

¹ Hooker gives us an account of a skirmish that took place near Cloyne, between the Seneschal of Imokilly, and Sir Walter Raleigh, in which the intrepidity and skill of Raleigh were remarkable. Raleigh afterwards accused the seneschal of Imokilly of cowardice on the occasion; and such were the manners of the times, that Lord Ormonde and Sir Walter, more than once, publicly challenged Sir John of Desmond, and the Seneschal, both of whom were in open rebellion, to decide the matter by single combat.

² Mr. John George Mac Carthy, relying upon a similar but separate authority, in an admirable lecture delivered in Cork, in 1856, and subse-

quently printed, describes Cork, as of dimensions and plan in no respect different from its description by Sir Warham St. Leger. "It was, he says, a Danish town fortified in the Norman manner with massive walls, and castellated forts. North and south, beneath a high portcullis, was a drawbridge; the space inside the walls was very narrow—one long street with the breadth of an arrow's cast at either side. Cork was indeed rather a fortress than a city." A curious and gratifying contrast is the Cork of our own day, as described by the late learned J. Windele in 1849, with its 9600 houses spreading over 2379 statute acres, and its population of 107,041 souls.

a myle in lengthe) 72, 66, 62, and one day w^t an other thorowe out the weeke 40, 30 and 20 when they dye leaste. The like death is thorowe out all the countries in this Province, as well in Townes as elsewhere, saving among the Traitors, who nether bee toucht w^t these diszeases nor yet taste of any famine; All true men's goods beeing Preys for them, and enjoy contynually the holsum^r eyre of the feedles, w^{ch} is cause of their preservinge.

"John Fitz Edmonds, the best subiect the Queene hath in these parts had w^t in this 2 moneths 600 p^{sons} at the leaste in his Townes and wards that hee mainteineth, and hath nowe left alyve of them 30. It is not the plague of pestilence that is amongst this people, for nether haue they Gods marks nor yet sore when they bee dedd. It maketh as speedie wo^k wth them as dooth the plague, for they lye not sick above 6 or 7 dayes. Besydes these sicknesses, wee have heere plague of famin^r in sutch sorte, as were it nott for the Queenes Mat^v store, wee shulde sterve: of w^{ch} there is nothing nor hath not beⁿ this 6 weeks, but bred, and beere, and of that no sutch store as will serve the soldio^{rs} heere a fortnight, which spent it will not bee possible for the soldio^{rs} to remeyne heere, for the countries can yeelde nothinge all that they had beeing consumed. And if there were beeves to bee had (as there is not), so leane bee they (by means they cannot bee suffred, to feede abrode), as they are no better then carrions. I have ben^r in 2 townes besieged, and never founde like scarcetie, as is here, God and her Mat^v amend it, and put into yo^r hono^{rs} hedds that bee her wo^rthy Counceller^s, to advise her highnes to refourme the miserie of this poore countrie w^{ch} may easylie bee don^r, if her Mat^v will followe the course of governem^t I nowe sende yo^r hono^r to bee ymparted unto her.

"And if the same seeme to her highnes ouer great chardge, better it were (not offendinge), for her Mat^v to bee at one chardge, then by lingering to spend 5 tymes so mutche and by sufferance hassard the Realme.

"I dare gage my life and likewise my poor lyvinge towards her Mat^v chardge, (if shee will maintein 2,000 footemen and 300 horsmen 4 moneths and send victuells at once wth them for that tyme), shee shall make an hono^rable end of this rebellion in that space, and haue this province in that subjection as never had eny of her auncesto^s before, and wth all greatlie increase her highnes revenue. Besides gratifying of a number of poore men, that painfully serve her. My good Lorde, there is no way to subdue these Traitors, but by settinge downe of men in their woods, w^{ch} bee their fortresses. That don^r, their harts bee dedd: for beeing beaten out of their woods they are not able to holde uppe their hedds, and if it be bee said to yo^r hono^r, that soldio^{rs} shall not be able to live in their woods, beleeve it not, for they may as well settle themselves, and live in the woods as in oth^r places, and chieflie considering everie garizon shall be so settled as they may well be victuelled by water, if by land it bee difficult to bee don^r.

"It is settled garrisons that must make an ende of this wo^rk, and not runing journeyes, for that weareth out men and to no purpose of service, till they bee beaten owt of their woods: And then followinge the Trait^{ors} w^t convenient companies of footemen, and horsmen divided into 2 parts. They shall so hunt the Trait^{ors}, as they shall haue eith^r the killinge of them or driving them in the sea. And if this course of governem^t be liked of her Mat^v and yo^r hono^{rs}, the soldio^{rs} to execute this enterprise had neede to bee heere by the latter end of May next, or by the midle of June at the ferthest, for it must bee somer wether to doo this service.

"After the 4 moneths the greatest numbers of the soldio^{rs} may be caished for in that space this rebellion will be ended or els^r I am greatly decayed.

"I have annexed to this plat I nowe send the distances of the woods one from th^r other, as also the largenes of them, as well in lengthe as in bredth, for that there is no man heere skilfull to make a mappe as it ought to bee.

"I haue also set downe what numb^{rs} of men are to bee placed in evvry wood, and likewise th^r apt places for their settlem^t & victuelling beseeching yo^r L. to beare w^t my rude dooings therein.

"And so having no straunge newes to aduertise since the writinge of my l^re to the Queenes Mat^v, but that the Rebels, the Senishall, and Patrick Condon, the 6th of this moneth, murdered 2 of the Lorde Roche's sonnes, Tibold and Redmond, and to the numb^{rs} of 30 more, whose deaths are greatlie lamented in as mutch as they were held good subiects, I humbly take my leve. From Corck, this 20th of April, 1582.

"Yo^r L. at comaundem^t,

"WARHAM SENT LEGER."

Dorso.—20 April, 1582. S^r Warham S^r. Leger to my L.,
Dearth & famine there, His opinion for y^e placing
of garrisons in y^e woods.

Driven, as it would seem, to utter despair of ever reducing the Munster Irish to loyalty and civility, the rulers of the Province at last adopted the resolution to make an end of all : *to lay waste at once the whole Province, and destroy the entire population by famine!* The letter which has just been laid before the reader may have led him to the opinion that this desired result was already so nearly obtained that Her Majesty's Government needed to give themselves no active concern further in the matter. On the 12th of March, 1582, Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to Her Majesty one of the most remarkable state papers to be found in any archives in any Christian land :—

MARCH 12, 1582. SIR W. ST. LEGER¹ TO THE QUEEN FROM CORK.

"I will be bold to set down to your Highness how the State of this your province of Munster standeth, and withal deliver to your Majesty my poor opinion what is like to become of the Government now in execution. It is so, and please your Highness, that in this Govern-

¹ The name of this brave, truthful, and conscientious statesman occurs so frequently, and under titles so diverse, during the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, in connexion with the troubles and Government of Munster, that it may be interesting to the reader to see some few particulars of his biography, which need to be collected from other sources than the narrative of public events in which he took part. He is presented to us sometimes as President of Munster, sometimes as Knight (Provost) Marshal, and sometimes as Commissioner. What his connexion was with the high office of the Presidency of Munster, the reader will see presently. Sir Warham was the second son of Sir Anthony St. Leger—who was Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1540, with two brief, and one longer interval, till 1556—by his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Warham, and niece to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Warham St. Leger, whose elder brother died young, was styled of Ulcomb. He married Ursula, fifth and youngest daughter of George Nevil, Lord Abergavenny, by whom he had a son Sir William, his heir, and two daughters. He married secondly, Elice Rothe, widow of Henry Davells, murdered by Sir John of Desmond; and widow also of Captain Mackworth, slain by the O'Conors. Sir Warham was Sheriff of Kent in 1560, and knighted in 1565. Smith informs us that in the year 1567, "The Presidency-Court of Munster was first erected, and that Sir Warham St. Leger was the first Lord President, during the government of Sir William Drury Lo: Deputy of Ireland," that "in 1570 Sir John Perrott was made Lord President in the room of Sir W. St. Leger;" and he adds in a note, "the Presidency courts were not fully established till this year; for which reason Sir J. Davis, in his historical relations, makes Sir John Perrott to have been the first Lord President of Munster, and Sir Edward Fitton, of Connaught." We learn, from the ministerial correspondence of the time, the more accurate account of the appointment of Sir Warham St. Leger as President of Munster, the brief tenure of his office, and the cause of his revocation.

In February 1566, Sir N. Bagnal wrote to the Earl of Leicester that Sir W. St. Leger had been appointed Lord President of Munster. On the 16th of January, 1567, the Queen wrote to the Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, that "she did not allow of the appointment of St. Leger, as he was not likely to be so indifferent in the cases of the two Earls [Desmond and Ormonde], as were meet."

It is true that Sir Warham, as well as his patron, Sir H. Sydney, had an ill opinion of the loyalty of Ormonde, and a personal dislike of him (which was amply returned to them both by

the Earl), and that he seldom missed an opportunity of stirring the Queen also to distrust him. This dislike was hereditary, and arose from a rivalry springing from the fact that the St. Legers considered themselves the direct representatives of Thomas the 7th Earl of Ormonde through one of the latter's daughters and heirs general, whilst Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, as the heir male, through a collateral descent, had the title and Irish property of the house.

In April, 1565, Sir H. Sydney had written to the Queen, "If ever there be faulte founde for partiality in Sir Warham Sent Leger, let it be my faulte as well as his; he hath already done good service, to the gret quiet of the countie of Waterforde; doubtless he is an honest, and sufficient man." And on receipt of the Queen's letter disallowing the appointment of Sir Warham as President, he wrote to Her Majesty, "While Sir Warham there still remayned (whose revocation, by all the honest that I could speak withall in the whole province of Mounster, was not a little lamented) there was no such outrage committed, nor, I dare say, had ben neither in Kylshelaw, if he had there remayned."

It was during the brief period of his Presidency, upon occasion of a short absence from the seat of his Government, that MacCarthy Mor, and the Sencschal of Imokilly appeared with a large force at the gates of Cork, demanding admittance, and the surrender of the city; this was refused, and "they then vowed never to depart unless the Mayor should deliver out of the town the Lady St. Leger, and Mrs. Groyneville, with the rest of the English, and Barry Oge, and Cormac Mac Teig, with all other prisoners." The arrival of the Lord Deputy and the timely coming of 400 fresh soldiers from England saved the ladies from the misfortune that threatened them.

In October, 1579, Sir Warham was appointed Knight Marshal of Munster, and in this capacity his first duty was the trial and execution of Sir James of Desmond.

Sir Warham met his death in an encounter with Maguire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, under the walls of Cork, in March, 1600. The details of this deadly duel have reached us in the words in which they were written a few days only after the event, by the Bishop of Cork to Sir Robert Cecyll :—

THE BISHOP OF CORK TO CECYLL,

March 5, 1600.

"On Saturday last, beinge the 1st of this moneth, M^{rs} Guyre wth others, were sent by Tirone into Kirriwhirry [the Seignorie of old Sir Warham St. Leger] to burne and spoile. In his retourne a litell before night he was encoun-

ment it is thought good policy to make waste the five counties within this province, the corporate towns only excepted; holding it the only means to subdue and famish the traitors. A government, no doubt meant to good purpose, but (under correction) far wide from the due course of government that ought to be; and so have I sundry times told the Governor since my coming hither; for by wasting the countries there will ensue four great inconveniences:—First, Starving numbers of poor innocent people, being already dead by famine in this province not so few as 30,000 at the least within less than this half year. Secondly, it will be the overthrow and decay of the corporate towns. . . . Thirdly, it will be the decay of your Majesty's customs, imposts, and other duties to your Highness appertaining. Fourthly, it is to be feared it will be the wasting of the whole realm, or a great part thereof."

This "good policy of Government," though in a great measure successful in the object it had in view, failed to intimidate the chiefs in arms. In September, the restless Seneschal was again in the neighbourhood of Cork, and "made prey of four towns:" his next exploit was conceived in audacious and more direct defiance of the policy of the Government. The Bishop of Rosse wrote to the Lords Justices touching the present state of Munster. . . . "The Seneschal is with his company in the Decies, and hath reaped the corn there, and also in Imokilly, and carried it into the woods. For proof whereof Sir Warham St. Leger's man returning from Dublin, and coming through Imokilly, passed through the rebels, as they were reaping the subject's corn (he thinking them subjects till he was past them, and then understood they were rebels). The Seneschal is in number 200 footmen, picked kern and expert fellows, sixty shot, and 24 horsemen, and since my coming into the country, about the beginning of August last, they have preyed the county of Waterford twice, even to the Passage."

When this corn, which proved to be the property of Mr. John Fitz Edmund of Cloyne, had been carried into the woods, and stored in caves, the Seneschal burst again into the Butler's country, laid waste the domains of the Lord General, and made spoil of his very "house at the Carrig."¹

From the incessant attacks of the Seneschal upon the country of the Earl of Ormonde, and particularly from such exploits as the burning of Nenagh, and 12 other of his towns, and the plunder of his house, it might not occur to the reader to suspect that these actions were not in reality acts of hostility, but mere incidents hiding a forbidden friendship; the keen eyes of Ormonde's personal enemies discovered by other and less mistakable evidences, that the sacking of Carrick Castle, the slaughter of his soldiers, and the hanging of the Seneschal's followers in return, were but acts of a sublime astuteness designed to disguise a traitorous collusion between the commander of Her Majesty's forces, and the most formidable of the rebels. In March, 1581, there were drawn up and sent for the Queen's grave consideration, certain "observations of the Earl of Ormond's Government during his being Lord General in the Province of Munster, and the success of the same." Two circumstances, casually revealed by this document, the reader cannot fail to notice: one, the incidental manner in which mention is made of an assassination to be done—in the language of the time, a draft to be drawn—upon the Seneschal of Imokilly: and the other, the

tred withall by Sir Warrham St. Leger and Sir Henrie Power, who issued forth wth certen horse, out of Cork, and about the sunne set M^c Guyre was slayne by Sir Warrham himself, and he again wounded by M^c Guyre, in the head, wth. an horseman's staffe, to death (as it is thought). The same tyme were slayne M^c Guyre's sonne, his priest, his foster-brother, wth. divers others of account. Some of their horsemens staves, and M^c Guyre's coollors were brought away. He left his staf in Sir Warrham's hedd, and dead wounded; and by reason of the fall of the evening after he had ridden about a mile, not being further pursued, fell downe from his horse, died that night under a bush, and is gone to his place. the next morninge was carried to the rebell's campe dead."

It may have taken the reader's notice that several of Sir Warham's letters written in England were dated from Leeds Castle, in Kent. We learn from "Lodge," Vol. 6, p. 104, that "In 1550, Sir Anthony St. Leger, the father of Sir Warham, had a grant from the King of the

manor house of Wingham-Barton, Bersted, (an appendant to the Manor of Leedes Castle) East Farbon, and Bentley, two small manors, and the fee simple of one of the Parks of Leedes Castle in the county of Kent." The connexion of the family of St. Leger with this locality was, however, of much earlier date than this grant; for "Ralf St. Leger of Ulcomb, Esq^r. eldest son of Stephen St. Leger, had been appointed in 1470, Constable of Leeds Castle, with one of the parks annexed to it, for then there were two, though now neither of them are to be seen." Sir Ralf left a son, who left two sons, Sir Anthony, and Sir Robert, who both settled in Ireland. The former was a Knight of the Garter, and, as the reader has seen, for several years Lord Deputy of Ireland; the latter was, in 1543, appointed Constable of Dungarvan.

¹ Carrick Castle, on the Suir, in the county of Tipperary, bordering on the county of Kilkenny, and, next to Kilkenny Castle, Ormonde's principal residence. It was in fair preservation until lately, but is fast falling into decay.

identity, in the minds of two honest men, of the appreciation of such drafts, and the fitting mode of dealing with the draftsmen. This was not the first time that such a proposal had been made to the Earl. Upon a previous occasion he had spoken his mind in a manner peculiarly his own, to the Lord Treasurer, through whom the proposition reached him. This time he wasted no words upon the proposal, or the persons entertained for its performance, but handed the latter over to the Seneschal, whom it more immediately concerned, and the Seneschal with as little hesitation passed them on to the hangman. Of these accusations the 10th was "He discharged Edmund M'Ruddery, son and heir to the White Knight, being by Theobald Roche, the Lord Roche's second son, accused of sundry treasons, in the presence of the Lord General. The 12th; he set at liberty a chief messenger of the traitor Seneschal of Imokilly, taken by Theobald Roche. The 16th; where two choice persons were entertained for the killing of the traitor Seneschal, and had undertaken the same, the matter not being revealed to any by the persons that entertained them, saving only the Earl of Ormond; these executioners were no sooner arrived at the camp, but they were apprehended by the Seneschal, and charged with the practice, and for the same executed, to the great grief of the persons that entertained them."

The 10th and 12th of these observations will explain to the reader the cause of the bitter feelings of the rebels against the sons of Lord Roche, which resulted, as has been mentioned, in their death. These young men had been in rebellion, had abandoned their party, and were seeking favour with the Government by such actions as the above. But evil times were coming quickly for the unfortunate Earl of Desmond, and his chief followers. Few narratives are sadder than that which may be extracted from the constant reports sent by Ormonde to the Privy Council, of the last few weeks of his existence. Lord Burghley was informed that "Ormond vowed with fire and sword to follow him." Doubtless it was the duty of the Lord General to do so; but there can be as little doubt that the life-long hostility of the two Earls burned the more fiercely as the one drove the other to extremity. Ormonde had many enemies, men who thought him already too powerful, and foretold evil days when, by the death of Desmond he should be without a rival in Munster. Many suggestions had been made to the Queen, and constant instructions sent by Burghley to the Lord Deputy, to treat with the rebel, to accept his submission; but Ormonde petitioned also that "no one else (than himself) might be commissioned to treat with him," that "he might not be supplanted till he had reduced the rebel." And the unfortunate Earl, driven as he was to utter despair, whilst declaring himself ready to surrender to Her Majesty, refused to submit to his enemy. The issue was inevitable, and the despatches written nearly day by day, to Lord Burghley and the Queen, contain the touching narrative of the last feeble struggles of the great rebel. On the 22nd of September, 1582, at the time when the Seneschal was in his greatest force, and, in the audacity of continual success openly reaping the subjects' corn, the Earl was reported to be "stronger than ever he was, he had 200 horse, and 2000 footmen;" but by May in the following year Ormonde wrote that "the Earl of Desmond was in great extremity; that he had cut off all relief of victual from him, put his principal men to the sword, and placed companies to meet him in every way." "That all men fell away from him; he knew not where to stay, or whom to trust." It would be unjust to the followers of the Earl to suppose that they abandoned him prematurely; most of them *never* fell from him, but were slain, as Ormonde's long lists of rebels put to death by him, prove; but in the Earl's great extremity he was compelled to separate himself from nearly every attendant, as well to prevent discovery of the places of his refuge, as to obtain the means of subsistence: above all it is due to the fame of the most faithful of the followers of the fugitive to state that, whatever other men may have done, the Seneschal remained in arms till he had endured nearly as great suffering, and far more affliction than his chief. Of those who continued in action after the death of James Fitz Maurice, none had been so hotly followed up as he had been. The force of the rebels had been latterly divided into two bodies, one remaining with the Earl in the woods of Arlow, the other under the Seneschal about Youghal, and his own country of Imokilly. Against the latter Ormonde's first efforts were directed. Before long "he overran and burned Imokilly, slew the Seneschal's brother, and captured his mother." The son of the rebel was already in the hands of the President of Munster. It is painful to read that the aged lady captured by Ormonde "was by him slain by form of law;" even more painful to see amongst the list of the Queen's enemies slain by him "the son of the Seneschal of Imokilly, a stripling." Whilst the Lord General was reporting his daily advances against the Earl of Desmond, Sir William Stanley wrote to Sir G. Fenton, "Desmond is now in one place having not above 80, the Seneschal is dispersed in another place with but 24 swords, and four horse." Unable to render any further assistance to his chief, a fugitive himself, and

hopeless of succour, the Seneschal gave way at last under his heavy afflictions, and made offer of submission to the Lord General. It was accepted conditionally, till the Queen's pleasure could be known; and how welcome was this surrender to the Queen may be judged from Her Majesty's instant reply that "she was glad the Seneschal had abandoned the Earl." On the 18th of June, Ormonde wrote that "21 of the few that followed Desmond were put to the sword; the Countess had submitted; the unhappy wretch wandereth from place to place, forsaken of all men." Two days later he added that, "the Earl was forsaken of all his followers saving a priest, two horsemen, one kerne, and a boy." On the 15th of November, 1583, he wrote his final notice, and the last passage of the Desmond tragedy: "On Monday last Donill D'Donill Imorieragh, dwelling near Castell-Mange, assaulted and slew the Earl of Desmond in his cabin of Glanegientye, near the river Mange. . . . So now is this traitor com to the ende I have longe looked for, appointed by God to dye by the sword to trayde his rebellion, in despite of soche malitiose fooles as have divers tymes untruelye enformed of the sarvice and state of Mounster."

How greatly Ormonde respected the character of the Seneschal, the ablest of his adversaries after the death of Fitz Maurice, is proved not only by the brief sketch of his character already cited, which was written to Lord Burghley at this time, but by the repeated and urgent suit made by him after the Earl's death, to procure his pardon. In September he wrote that "the Seneschal would prove a good subject; that he and his people were now employed in good order and husbandry;" and in November he wrote again urging the Lord Treasurer "to plead earnestly to the Queen for pardon for the Seneschal." The after history of this distinguished Geraldine is to be gathered from stray passages relative to the confiscation and distribution of the lands of the rebels. In November, 1585, instructions were sent to the Lord Deputy that "some order was to be taken for the Seneschal and others, pardoned of their lives." The only order taken by the authorities at Dublin was to deliver him into the custody of the Constable of Dublin Castle. In 1587, other instructions were sent to Sir Valentine Browne, concerning the escheated lands in Munster, "that where as about a year past Her Majesty gave order to the Lord Deputy and the council to consider how the Seneschal of Imokilly and Patrick Condon may be agreed with, whereby there might not arise any disturbance from them to the undertakers; Her Majesty has never yet received answer from the Deputy. The parties themselves remaining now under guard in the Castle of Dublin, may be dealt withal, and let understand (that notwithstanding) their great offence committed, Her Majesty can be content, in hope that hereafter they will carry themselves dutifully towards her, to bestow some portion of the land that heretofore appertained unto them (whereof the whole was forfeited), upon them towards their relief and maintenance."

The Seneschal survived the announcement of this act of Her Majesty's clemency about two years: his troubled career terminated in the calm of his seclusion in Dublin Castle at the end of January or beginning of February, 1589. Whether he was buried in Dublin, or with his ancestors at Cloyne, we know not. That he left at least one son surviving the slaying of his brother, uncle, and grandmother, we learn from a warrant of the Queen, sent on the 17th of June, 1597, to the Lord Deputy Burgh, for "passing the wardship of the body and lands of the son of John Fitz-Edmunds of Ballymartie, (Ballymartyr) late Seneschal of Imokilly, to Captain Henry Moyle, under the great seal." A later notice of this son occurs in a letter of Cecyll to Carew, dated 8th November 1600, which leaves little doubt but that the youth was already involved in the rebellion of the *Sugan* Earl, and O'Neill; and is but one instance in a multitude, showing that the rebels of 1583 were fathers of the rebels of 1600, they of the rebels of 1641, and these of the rebels (?) of 1688. Whilst the Seneschal had been in open warfare with the Queen's forces, Mr. John Fitz-Edmund of Cloyne had for a second time taken refuge in Cork, where he continued a model of loyalty, and the victim of the hatred of the rebels. His sufferings and losses were not, however, wholly unconsidered; much petitioning succeeded in obtaining for him "a minute from the Queen to the Deputy and Chancellor of Ireland, for an annuity of 100 marks, and a grant of 100 marks out of the escheats in Munster." The most remarkable passage in the life of this conspicuous Royalist occurred at the close of the great struggle which had desolated Munster for so many years; it was destined to cause him more affliction than the loss of herds and harvests, and almost made shipwreck of the reputation gained by a long life of loyalty.

At the death of the Earl of Desmond it was considered of pressing importance that a Parliament should be summoned to authorize Her Majesty to distribute the forfeited lands, and to pass such Acts as should be necessary for repairing the broken and miserable estate of Ireland. A Parliament was accordingly called by Sir John Perrot, then Lord Deputy. Its first session was held in 1585; its second in 1586. The reader may be surprised to hear that one of its earliest proceedings was to pass an Act against Witches! this was evidently

done at the dictation of Ormonde, and proves the sincerity in his blunt mind, of his belief of what he wrote to the Queen, that, in their disloyalty "his brothers had been bewitched, as he also had been, but that he was now cured." But of far other importance was an Act for the passing of which, in reality, this Parliament had been especially assembled, to the effect "that all conveyances made, or pretended to be made, by any person attainted within thirteen years before the Act, shall be entered on record in the Exchequer within a year, or be void." When this Act was introduced it met with much opposition; but when Sir John Fitz-Edmund arose, and, doubtless encouraged by the feeling of the House, produced a certain "Feoffment," by which the late Earl of Desmond had placed all his estates in trust for his wife and son, at a time when he was wholly free from all taint of rebellion, consternation and panic fell upon the whole assembly. "This Act," writes Sir R. Cox, "did not pass the Houses without great difficulty, and perhaps had not passed at all if John MacEdmond Fitzgerald (to prevent the Earl of Desmond's forfeiture) had not produced a Feoffment made by that Earl, before he entered into rebellion, which had taken effect, and baffled the expectations of the undertakers, if Sir Henry Wallop had not, by good luck, gotten the aforesaid deed of association, made the 18th July, 1578 (which was two months before the pretended settlement—to which this John Fitz-Edmond himself was a party), but upon the producing of that confederacy, and the discovering of this fraud and subtlety, the honest part of the House were ashamed to abet so ill a cause, and so this Act was made to prevent the like contrivances." At Lambeth are preserved, amongst the Carewe papers, copies both of the Feoffment and Deed of Confederation. The passage quoted from the history of Sir R. Cox will have prepared the reader to find this Feoffment—which it was fraudulently pretended had been executed before the Earl had committed any act of rebellion, and was therefore valid in law—to find this document bear date two months *after* the date of the deed of association of rebellion, thus proving the document produced by Sir John Fitz-Edmund the act of a traitor, and therefore of no value; but, strange to say, the copy of this Feoffment preserved at Lambeth is dated not two months *after*, but four years *before* the Act of Association, that is, the former on 10th September, 1574, the latter on July 18, 1578!

That the discovery made by the sharp-sightedness of Sir H. Wallop was a discovery of the truth relative to these two documents, we are bound to believe, since the Act of Parliament was passed in consequence of it. It follows inevitably that one or other of these dates must be faulty. It is remarkable that Sir R. Cox should have transferred to his pages, without any observation, the dates of both these documents as he found them in the copies at Lambeth, although so glaringly inconsistent with the discovery of Wallop; more particularly as such mighty interests—the validity of the forfeitures, one million two hundred thousand acres—depended upon the priority of the execution of the Deed of Association of rebellion to that of the Feoffment, a fact provable only by the dates of the documents! In our modern calendars these State papers are placed unavoidably in the years of the dates they bear respectively, thus perpetuating the error which misled Sir R. Cox. Happily the discovery of the mistake is not difficult. The correctness of the date of the Feoffment will admit of no doubt, for the document was presented to Parliament by Sir John Fitz-Edmund, who had himself, in company with various other gentlemen, several of them lawyers, attested it. Had the date of the other deed been as correct, the vast estates of the Earl must have slipped through the fingers—matchless for their tenacity—of Her Majesty, and a multitude of enterprising English gentlemen must have returned to the country from which they came. But the instrument of confederation reveals its true date in its very first paragraph. It states that "Whereas the Earl had assembled his kinsmen and others, *after his coming out of Dublin, and made them privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy were delivered to him on the 8th of July, 1578, &c.*

Now the Earl *came out of Dublin* (escaped from Dublin Castle), as we have already related, in November, 1573; and turning to the State papers of the period in quest of these "Articles which had been delivered by the Lord Deputy to the Earl," we find them under date of 8 July, 1574. The deduction is that the date of the year, occurring twice in the Deed of Association, has been altered by transcribers, and that for 1578 we should read 1574. But although error has thus crept into the date of the year, it has not affected that of the month or day. The deed bears date 18th of July, which, as Sir H. Wallop discovered, and placed on record on the deed itself, is "seven weeks earlier than the execution of the feoffment." In the entire collection of the State papers of England, no document exists that was of equal importance as to its absolute correctness of date, as this one, for on none other ever depended the transfer of estates so vast and so valuable! Lord Justice Pelham, in his "Plot for Munster, dated July 28, 1580, showing how Munster may be made to yield revenue to Her Majesty, and in short time repay the charge of the war," proposes to the Queen "to take the benefit

of all the possessions of the Earl of Desmond, and the traitors, in all ten thousand ploughlands, rating but 120 English acres to every ploughland."

CAREW MSS., JULY 18, 1578.—LAMBETH, VOL. 600, p. 45.

"The combination of Garrett, late Earl of Desmond, attainted of high treason.

"Whereas Garrett, Earl of Desmond, has assembled us, his kinsmen, followers, friends, and servants, after his coming out of Dublin, and made us privy to such articles, as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered to him the 8th of July, 1578, [*recte* 1574], to be performed, and to his answers to the same, which answers we find reasonable; and has declared to us that if he do not yield to the performance of the said articles, and put in his pledges, the Lord Deputy will make war against him: we counsel the said Earl to defend himself from the violence of the Lord Deputy, and we will assist the Earl against him. 18th July, 1578, [1574.]

"Garrett Desmond; Thomas Lixnaw; John of Desmond; John FitzJames; Rorye M'Sheaghe; Moroughe O'Brien; Moriartaghe M'Brien of Lonforth; Ja. K. E. F. D. K. B.; Theobald Burke; Donell O'Brien; Richard Burke; John Brown; Daniel M'Canna of Drombraine; James Russell; Richard Fitz-Edmond; Gerold Ulick M'Thomas of Billuncarrighe; Ulick Burk; John Fitz-William of Kärnedirrye; Teighe O'Heyne of Chairreyleye."

"Copia vera ex^{ta}. Matheue Dillon," p. 1.

Mr. Hamilton's Calendar of Irish State Papers, places these "Articles propounded to the Earl of Desmond, and his answers," in the year (July 8, 1574), in which they undoubtedly were laid before the Earl's associates in rebellion; the Carew Calendar refers to them also in the same year.

FROM THE QUEEN TO THE COUNCIL AT DUBLIN. August 20, 1574,—
CAREW MSS., VOL. 628, p. 171.

"Your letters of the 11th of this present, together with Desmond's answers to such articles as were propounded to him we have received, and do no less mislike of your, and our Council's slender kind of dealing with him than his rude answers." [The remainder of this despatch is occupied with a consideration of the Earl's answers to the Articles.]

September 10, 1574, CAREW MSS., VOL. 608, p. 104.—EARL OF DESMOND.

"A true copy of the feoffment made by Gerald, Earl of Desmond, testified under the Lord Deputy and Council's hands, which appeareth to be made 7 weeks after the Combination, 1574.

"Charter of Gerald Fitz Gerald, Earl of Desmond, Lord of Decies and Ogonull, and Lord of the liberty of Kerry, granting in fee to James Butler, Lord Baron of Dunboyne; John Powar, Knight, Lord Baron of Curraghmore, and John Fitz Gerald Fitz Edmund, all his baronies, manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, in the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, or elsewhere in Ireland. He has appointed Maurice Shighan, and Robert Liston, his bailiffs and attorneys, to enter and take seizin in all the said hereditaments, and to deliver them to the said Barons and Fitz Edmund. Dated 10 Sept. 1574, 16 Eliz."

Then follow other documents, explanatory of the intent and meaning of the said feoffment; attestations of the ensembling, and delivery of seizin by the attorneys in the various counties, &c., &c.

The learning and the wisdom which had guided this exemplary royalist through a long career of difficulty and danger thus seemed to have failed him at the last. He had unquestionably placed himself towards the rebel Earl in a relation as intimate as it was in the power of man to contract with his fellow-creature, at a time when it was high treason to parley with him, for he had not only assisted the rebel in the endeavour to place his estates beyond reach of forfeiture in case of accidents, seven weeks after he was deeply plunged in rebellion, but he had accepted in trust the future impunity of his wife and son, both compromised by the Earl's treason; and the responsibility of defending the political integrity and status of his tribe when all—nobility, estates, personal liberty, nay, life itself—were by

law already forfeited. The anger of the undertakers, and their dismay at the disaster they had so narrowly escaped, rendered them incapable of believing that Sir John had been ignorant, at the time, of the rebellious practices of the Earl, and that he had no knowledge of the existence of the document produced by Sir H. Wallop. A tempest of accusations, the hatred of the undertakers, the indignation of Parliament, and the great displeasure of the Queen, was the bitter result of this attempt to avert the overthrow of his house. The injured Royalist wrote without delay to Sir F. Walsingham an explanation of his conduct and speech in Parliament, showing how much he had been misunderstood, protesting that he would be the first man to approve of the Earl's attainder and loss of life and lands condignly happening unto him for his horrible treason, and that no one could more willingly assent to these forfeitures than himself:—

JOHN FITZ EDMUND GERALD TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM.

"Right honorable my humble duetie remembred; understanding that by som sinister Information from hence, the Lorde God knoweth how iniustly, your honor hath conceived som harde opynyon agaynst me, so as my sonne by me appoynted, sying for audyence in discharge of my obligation ageynst me, coule not be hearde; in so moche as now one calumpnye growing upon an other I am dryven to speak for my owen purgacion. Least by sylence where speache may not be admytted, I rest utterly condempned; and least my not speakyng might confyrme for a trothe myne adversaries surmyses, wherefore moste humbly craving, that which was never denyed to any, graunte to me my answer wth all humblenes and submyssion. The greate matter ageynst me is my speache in the Parlyament of the ffeoffament made by the Earle of Desmonde to me and others, which I thought it my parte to tell, onely, in diccharge of my conseience and honestie before God and the worlde, not as a thinge I wished allowed, but farre otherwise, Protesting that myself woulde be the first man, that woulde assent (as I was indede, els I am content to rest condempned in yo^r honorable Judgement) to the acte of attaynder of him as a thinge condignly happening unto hym, and the losse of lyfe and londs. Too small a guerdon for his horryble treason, and so I do thinke unfaynedly. Also in a matter newly happening wⁱⁿ this provynce, concernyng Florence M^cCartye his unloyall parte, in assuryng and affyng himself to the Earle of Clancares daughter; in that action I referre myself to the reporte of the Councell of this provynce, I do holde it moste unduetifull and a thinge moste ageynst my mynde, and wishe for example of others, that her Ma^{tie} may gyue the guerdon fytt for such contempts. I did diswade the mother of the yonge Lady from euer thinkyng of that matche, in presence of two of the best in Corke, who dyd testifie the same: God knowith my harte, my charges and losses in her Ma^{ties} service shal be sufficient testimony of John Fitz Edmonds trew allegiaunce when I am deade, I do desire onely to rest uncondemned untill I may answer, and yf my answer by my sonne upon hearing, may not sufficiently satisfie I desire but this yo^r honorable favor, that the poynts, wherein yo^r honor restith unsatisfied may be transmytted to me to answer, and yf I do not answer all to your honorable lykyng, I will rest condempned and never desire other Judge but yourself, Further I have not, but I humbly take leave. Corke, this xvth of November 1588.

"Your honors moste humble at comaundement.

"JOHN FITZ EDMOND GERALD."

Addressed. "To the right honorabell Sr
Frances Wallsingham knight,
Principall Secretary to her Ma^{ty}."

With the rebellion of the Sugán Earl, the son of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, the nephew of the great rebel, we are not at present further concerned than to observe that the reader may see in the Pacata Hibernia that with the same loyalty with which,—apart from the ambiguous incident of the Feoffment,—he had sustained the hatred of his race, the spoliation of his lands, and peril of his life during the two previous rebellions, Sir John continued, through this third and fiercest, to show himself as he had ever been "the best subject the Queen had in Munster," and that at its close he was not left wholly without his reward. On the occasion of sending the Queen's Earl of Desmond into Ireland in 1600, three or four persons only were chosen to accompany him. Of these one was the son of Sir John Fitz Edmund. Sir R. Cecyll then wrote to Carew, to whom he was in the habit of writing his mind with respect to persons and things, with admirable frankness, a few passages respecting Sir John, which suggest a belief that the incident of the Feoffment, and the speech in Parliament in 1586, had not faded from the memory of the writer:—

SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1600.—CECYLL TO CAREWE.

"There comes in the company of the younge Erle a soon of Ihon Fitz Edmond, on whom the Queen hath bestowed a pence'on of one hundred markes in reversion after his father. He hath made two other sutes, the one to haue some men to kepe his castles, the other to surrender all his landes, and to take them in soccage. For the first, for ought I see, he is rich enough, and craftye enough, soe, as many a man hath sued for that, which hath more neede of it, and therefore, in that pretend you to have no warrant; for although I know he is wise, and hath kept a good forme, yet I am not ignorant that he might doe more than he doeth; but I haue used his soone with kindness, and the rather because you know how deere he is to a good friend of ours (who is in Jarsey); besides he pretendeth to be much affected to this Desmond, and I see his soone much follow him, amongst which persons if any should be made to give cautyon, it weare not amisse that ould Fitz Edmond weare wrapt into bondes for him."

The life of Sir John Fitz Edmund (he was knighted,¹ A.D. 1601, by Lord Deputy Mountjoy, "to requite his perpetual Loyalty to the Crown of England, as also to encourage others"), was prolonged till the year 1612, when he expired at the ripe age of 85. He was buried with his ancestors in the Cathedral of Cloyne. A monument there erected to his memory records his many illustrious qualities, and chief amongst them his learning and hospitality; the former, as the reader of these pages has seen, had been many years before "commended by the Lords of the Privy Council," and the latter attested, in his honour, by Sir Warham St. Leger, in a despatch to the Lord Treasurer. He died on the 15th of January, and under the same marble was placed, only two months later, the body of his son, who died on the 10th of March, at the age of 43. The reputation of this distinguished Royalist would lose nothing if the epitaph, with its false metre and strange Latin, graven upon his monument, could be exchanged for the vigorous, unpretending sentence written of his rebel kinsman, the Seneschal, by the Earl of Ormonde—He was valiant, wise, and true of his word!

POSTSCRIPT BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES.

"The Barony of Imokilly, County of Cork, in which the Cloyne and Ballymartyr branches of the Knight of Kerry's sept were planted, is a compact territory stretching about twenty miles in length from Cork Harbour to the mouth of the Blackwater at Youghal, and extending inwards about twelve miles from the sea-board. It is surrounded by the Atlantic or its estuaries on all sides but the north; and being a warm limestone tract, must always have been, as it still is, a fertile region. Imokilly may be divided into two nearly parallel valleys separated by a low range of hills. In the northern vale was the Seneschal's stronghold, Ballymartyr; and his fertile lands. In the southern valley, about three miles from Cork Harbour, and as much from the sea, rises a small insulated hill on which stand the Cathedral and Round Tower of Cloyne—and here was also Sir John Fitz Edmund's Castle of Cloyne.² In the N. E. angle of the North Transept of the

¹ We are informed by the writer of the *Pacata Hibernia*, that the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, on his return from the siege of Kinsale to Dublin by way of Waterford, came out of his road to pay a visit to Cloyne, where he slept on the 7th of March, 1601, and was received by Mr. John Fitz Edmund who held the town and manor house in fee farm, and who gave cheerful and plentiful entertainment to his lordship and all such of the nobility captains, gentlemen, and others as attended upon him. Upon this occasion the Lord Deputy knighted his host.

² This was originally the Palace of the Bishops of Cloyne. The Regal Visitation of 1615 (MS. Royal Irish Academy), has the following statement:—"John Fitzgarrat, miles, per usurpationem tenuit non solum domum et mansiones, sed etiam terras et possessiones Episcopi et Dignitatorum." Sir John Fitz Edmund, though a layman, was Dean of Cloyne—(See p. 315, *supra*), and some of his ancestors seem also to

have held that dignity though laymen also. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne, has left in MS. in the Registry of that See a "History of the Property of the See of Cloyne," which has been printed by the Rev. Dr. Brady in his "Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross." Bishop Bennett states that "the family of the Fitzgeralds, who were extremely powerful in Imokilly, and had already obtained the manor and the greatest part of the Burgage of Cloyne, cast their eyes on all the remaining possessions of the See. As the plan was a bold one, it was necessary to proceed with caution. In order to make the leases of Bishops' lands valid in those days, it was proper to have them confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, the Church having thus, as it were, two securities that estates should not be wantonly granted away. In order to get over this difficulty, Mr. Fitzgerald, though a layman, got himself appointed to the Deanery of Cloyne, and filled the



W.G. SMITH DEL ET SC.

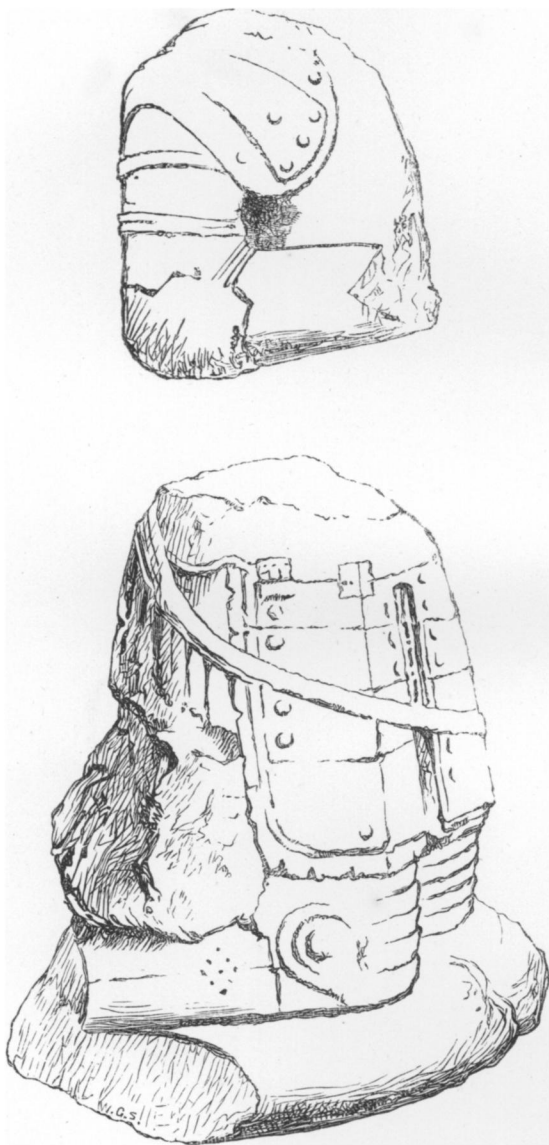
MONUMENT OF SIR JOHN FITZ GERALD, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.

EPI TAPHIVM IOHANIS DE GERALDINIS MILITIS
AN̄O DOMINI 1611.

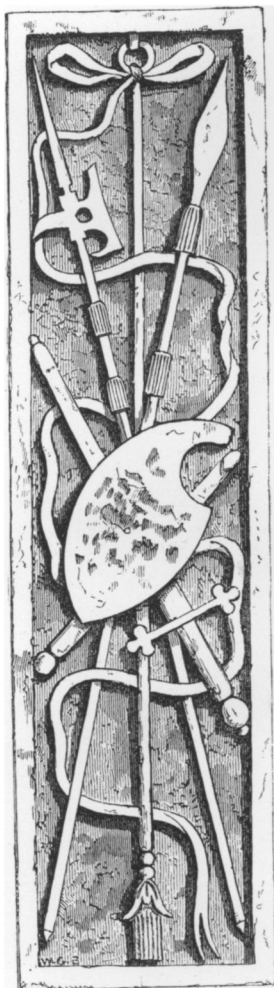
HIC SITVS EST MILES MAGNI DE STIRPE GERALDI
ÆTERNA CVIVS PATRIA LAUDE SONAT
HOSPITIO CELEBRIS DOCTRINA CLARVS ET ARMIS
DIGNA FVIT VIRIVS NOBILITATE VIRI
OMNIPOTENS ANIMAM RAPIAT MISERATVS IN ALTV
DVRA HEC EX ANIMVM MARMORA CORPVS HABET
ILLIVS & GESTA IN PACE & QVAM PLV RIMA BELLO
TE DOCEANT VIVI LECTOR AMICE VALE

OBIIT PRÆDICT⁹ EQVES AN̄O ÆTATIS 85 DIE VERO MENSIS JANVARIJ 15 AN̄O DOMINI 1612
SVB HOC ETIAM MAR MORE REQVIESCIT FILIVS CVM PATRE QVI IMATVRA MORTE
PATRI PRÆPITVIT ITER AN̄O ÆTATIS 43 DIE VERO MENSIS MARTII AN̄O DOMINI 1612.

Epitaph on Sir John Fitz Gerald's monument, Clogh Cathedral.



FRAGMENTS OF EFFIGIES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.



No. 1.



No. 2.

SCULPTURES, FITZ GERALD MONUMENT, CLOYNE CATHEDRAL.

Cathedral was erected, doubtless during his lifetime, a very fine monument, in the Renaissance style, originally consisting of a table or altar tomb above which was reared a pillared structure crowned by an ornamented entablature: whilst from the fragments still remaining it would appear that two kneeling armed figures surmounted the first named part of the structure. The plate which faces this page shows the altar tomb as it appeared in the year 1871.¹ In the floor beneath it (as indicated in the engraving), was inserted a large slab engraved with the epitaph of which a fac-simile is given on the accompanying plate, whilst fragments of other portions of the structure were scattered about the building, having been torn down in 1862, when some restoration works were going on in the Cathedral, as it interfered with a window. The tradition extant at Cloyne is, as I have been informed by the Rev. Thomas B. McCreery, that about a hundred years ago the armed figures stood intact upon the altar tomb, fastened to the back of the upper structure by iron cramps; about that time the cramps gave way and the effigies fell down, were broken into fragments, and have never been restored. Two sides only of the altar tomb are exposed, and on the front of it is an inscription, as indicated in the engraving. The pilasters at the front and end of the altar tomb are carved with foliage and trophies of arms. A very good effect is produced without deep sinking by the design being traced on the surface of the polished marble which is then given a slight relief by the ground being punched away. The two most interesting of these pilasters are represented in the accompanying plate, carefully engraved from rubbings made on the spot. The shield, sword, and dagger, together with a halbert and spear, are represented on No. 1, whilst No. 2 shows Sir John Fitz Edmund's plumed and vizored casque, and a very well carved example of the matchlock of the period. There are three fragments of the two effigies, both kneeling to the right. The armour agrees with the date of the monument. A coat of arms still remains. The shield bears a plain saltier, but whether it was charged in colours with the ermine of the Desmond Earls, or had the field guttée of the Knights of Kerry, it is now hard to say. The entire monument was originally composed of red, black, and white marble highly polished.

The engravings, presented by Mr. A. Fitz Gibbon to the "Journal" of the Association, give an accurate representation of the condition of the monument at the close of 1871. The Ordnance Survey Papers preserved at the Royal Irish Academy contain a brief notice of this monument, and state that it was "converted by the Earls of Thomond, since the decline of the Fitz Gerald family, to their own use." This is not at all improbable, as Dermot O'Brien, Fifth Baron of Inchiquin, married Ellen, eldest daughter of Sir Edmund Fitz Gerald, Knight, of Cloyne, and sister to Sir John Fitz Edmund, and the direct line of the Fitzgeralds having about 1668 ended in a daughter who was also married to an Inchiquin, the direct male line of the Cloyne family may be said to be represented by the O'Briens.

The Dean and Chapter of Cloyne having lately entered on a restoration of that ancient Cathedral, their Architect, Mr. Arthur Hill, of Cork, kindly undertook, with their permission, to restore this ancient monument, giving his professional services and time gratuitously. And the Most Hon. the Marquis of Kildare having contributed the necessary funds, the entire has been re-erected in the Cathedral in a position where it does not interfere with any of the windows. Sufficient portions of the superstructure remained to guide Mr. Hill in the work of restoration, and the monument now bids fair to hand down the name of the Fitz Gerald of Cloyne for many generations to come.

Chapter with his dependents. Lay Prebends as well as Deans were not uncommon in the days of Queen Elizabeth. . . . Matthew Shehan [Bishop of Cloyne], in consideration of a fine of £40 . . . leased out in July 14, 1573, at the annual rent of five marks, for ever the whole Demesne of Cloyne (four ploughlands), with the lands of Killinewery, Coolbrighan, Ballybane, Kilmaclenan, Ballycrooneen, and Ballycotton. . . . In order to give some colour to the transaction, it was performed in this manner:—Bishop Shehan granted the fee-farm of all the temporalities of the See of Cloyne for ever to Richard Fitz Maurice and his heirs on the above conditions. The Dean and Chapter confirmed

this grant; and then Fitz Maurice, who seems to have been merely an agent, is stated to have sold his right and title to Master John Fitzgerald of Cloyne." (Vol. III., p. 2.)

The Castle and See lands were subsequently recovered for the See, and Bishop Pooley, in 1700, finding the Castle to be old and inconvenient, built or repaired a new See House. The Castle, which seems to have been repaired by Sir John Fitz Edmund, whose initials were carved on stone thereon, stood at the South East angle of the four cross ways in the centre of the town of Cloyne, and was taken down in 1797. (Id. p. 25.)

¹ This portion of the "Journal" was not issued until the year 1873.

CAP. III.—SIR JAMES OF DESMOND.

Amongst the multitude of victims who in these Desmond wars fell in promiscuous slaughter under the merciless sword of the Lord General the Earl of Ormonde—"Nearer 3000 than 3," as he asserted in answer to a taunt thrown out against him for his sluggishness in the suppression of the rebellion—of none was the fate so utterly deplorable as that of the young Sir James, son of the 14th Earl of Desmond called "Of the Assemblies," a designation painfully suggestive of tastes and habits more suitable to his age and social rank than meetings of desperate and rebellious men, and the terrible scenes of a cruel civil war. Matchless in the splendour of his birth; conspicuous above all the youth of his generation for the magnificence and celebrity of a public baptism, when he was held at the font by the Queen's Deputy; destined, if all went well, to add to the wealth and power of his house, power and possessions at least equal to those it already possessed; an orphan in his infancy; reared under the guardianship of a man wholly without principle, of scandalous private life, ever in rebellion himself, or encouraging it in others; forced almost from his boyhood by the sterner passions of his relatives and followers into rebellion; captured after scarcely a year of action, in which he had accomplished nothing more note-worthy than a spoil of cattle; judged without mercy, and most ignominiously executed, the brief career of this young Geraldine presents to the reader's notice a picture of the instability of human fortune rarely surpassed.

In the first year of Philip and Mary, 1553, a marriage was celebrated between Sir James Fitz John, 14th Earl of Desmond, and Eveleen, daughter of Donal-an-Dru-main, son of Cormac Ladhracl Mac Carthy Mor, and sister of Donal, afterwards Earl of Clancar. From a few passages of the extraordinary settlement made upon the occasion of this marriage, and which was subsequently laid before the Privy Council by Florence Mac Carthy to show his right to the Country of Desmond, through his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Clancar, we learn that the Irish chieftain not only disinherited his brother Tadhg and his issue, and his daughter Catherine and her issue, and the female issue of his eldest son, but by settling his lands on the heirs general of the daughter about to marry the Earl of Desmond, he projected them through a strange circle of alienations, conveying them first to the house of Desmond, then to the house of Thomond, back again to the Fitz Gerald, then to the house of Ormonde, on to the O'Rourkes, according to the various marriages of the successive heirs of inheritance as they stood in the entail, and finally—thanks to an entail of sterility which appeared also to form part of these settlements—back to the Mac Carthys, from whom they had been for forty years wandering around in search of a permanent heir, though in reality never for a day out of their possession. From this document we learn also incidentally two facts interesting to be assured of, and which we could not ascertain from any other source, viz., 1st. That the young Baron Valentia, the son of the Earl of Clancar, died in his boyhood a fugitive in France; and 2nd. That Sir James of Desmond, contrary to the belief of Lodge, died without issue; as also did his sister Ellen, who had married 1st, Edmund Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormonde, and 2ndly, Sir Brian O'Ruarke. In the "Reasons that Florence Mac Carthy alleged to prove that the Earl of Clancar's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife, and to his heirs," it is stated that "Donal Mc Cormac Lirch Mac Carthy Mor, father to the said Earl (of Clancar) in his life time entailed all his lands to his only sonne, the aforesaid Earl and his heirs; and, for want of such issue in him, to the heirs of James Earl of Desmond by Ellen his daughter, wife to the said Desmond, and sister to the aforesaid Earl of Clancar, and the remainder to the right heirs of the aforesaid Ellen [Eveleen] for ever, which is Ellen daughter to the Earl her brother, and wife to Florence aforesaid, considering that the said Earl of Clancar survived Sir James of Desmond her son, and Eleanor, wife to Edward Butler, her daughter, who both died without issue. This entayle made by Donal Mc Cormac Leiry, was perfected, and diverse of the witnesses yet living that were at the perfecting thereof, in the 1st and 2nd year of Philip and Mary, and now ready to be produced." The death of the young Valentia is mentioned in an earlier passage of the document from which the foregoing is extracted.

About four years after this marriage there took place one of those imposing journeys or progresses made occasionally by the Lords Deputy through such parts of Ireland as were reduced to civility, that is, were safe for Her Majesty's Deputy to travel, for the purpose of encouraging the loyal, overawing the disaffected, and executing malefactors. To the narratives of these journeys, particularly of those made by the

Lord Deputy Sir H. Sydney, we are indebted for the most vivid pictures that have reached us of the status of our Irish chieftains, and of the great English nobles who had imitated them in all things—who, to the great displeasure of the Queen, spoke their language, wore their dress, adopted their laws, and assumed those rights or chiefries which intercepted the authority of the Sovereign over their followers. The journey made in the summer of 1558 by the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, was one of more than usual pomp, and ostentation of power. He was accompanied by a considerable force of horse and foot, by the nobles and chieftains in amity with the government, and by their military retainers, bonies, galloglasse, kerns, and others—for it was the purpose of the gallant soldier then governing the country, to reduce to, at least, a semblance of submission various troublesome heads of septs, and to assault every stronghold along his route which should not throw open its gates at his approach. He was, fortunately, also attended by Her Majesty's Pursuivants at Arms, the Heralds Athlone and Ulster; and to the former of these we are indebted for the interesting narrative that follows:—

Carew MSS. Vol. 621, p. 20, A., 1558, July 25.—A JOURNEY MADE BY THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

“Monday the 20th, the Deputy came through a great pass and fowl way, called the pass of Carkin Kisse; he rested upon a plain side of a hill, where there were a few trees, and then there came to him the Earl of Ormond and his brother Mr. Edmund Butler, with a good sort of handsome gentlemen on horseback from his camp. All our carriages being past, the Lord Deputy went to horse, and on the way met with him the young Lord of Cahir with a goodly company; and shortly after he rested by the way, and dined. William Bourke made my Lord drink as he passed by his castle, called Carrec Kerrellois, within six miles of Limerick. Then my Lord Gerald of Desmond [afterwards the 15th Earl] and M^c Carte Mor [Donal Leyragh father of the Earl of Clancar] and Sir Maurice of Desmond [Atotane] met him with a goodly company of horsemen. On drawing towards Limerick the Deputy caused his bands of footmen to march in order of battle, their ancient [ensigns] displayed before him, he himself being in the middle ward, the horsemen behind him, and all the Irish horsemen on the right wing. Accompanied by the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Gerald of Desmond, the Lord of Cahir, Sir Henry Sydney Vice Treasurer at Wars, and M^c Carte Mor, he marched into Limerick, where at the gate the Mayor and his brethren in their scarlet gowns met him, and delivered into his hands the keys and mace of the city, which he delivered back again to the Mayor. Then the Mayor, bearing the mace, and the officers of arms went before him; Sir George Stanley, Knight Marshal, bearing the sword, until His Lordship came to the stile of S^t [] churchyard, where he alighted. In the churchyard were the Bishop of Limerick and the clergy in procession, and there he kneeled down, was censed, and kissed the cross, and when he rose up holy water was sprinkled upon him, then he went into the church, and did in like manner before the rood, and from thence to the high Altar, where he kneeled until the Te Deum was sung, and then offered, and so separated to his lodging in Dominick White's house. — Sunday the 26th June, in the afternoon, at the Bishop's house of Limerick was bishopped James the son of the [14th] Earl of Desmond. The Lord Deputy being Godfather, called the child's name James Sussex of Desmond; and the officers of Arms during the Bishoping, in their coats of arms, proclaimed the child James Sussex of Desmond three times: and my Lord Deputy gave to the said child a chain of gold; and after that M^c Carte Mor was dubbed Knight, and called Sir Dermont M^c Carte [his name was Donal, not Dermot], and my Lord Deputy gave unto him a chain of gold, and a pair of gilt spurs; wherefore Wolster and Athloon [the heralds] set the same on Sir Dermont M^c Carte; and he gave unto me Athloon, for his fee a double ducat of gold; and after this, the Earl of Desmond's men, horsemen, kernes, and gallowglasse mustered in the straight [street] against my Lord Deputy's coming to his lodging, they being a goodly band of men.—On Wednesday the 6th [of July] a gallowglass man was nailed to post for drawing a weapon in the camp, contrary to the proclamation: and on the 7th a gallowglass was hanged for stealing a shirt of mail. On Sunday 10th July after the high mass in the great church of Limerick, the Earl of Thomond, and all the Freeholders of the county of Thomond were sworn upon the Holy Sacrament, with all the relics of the church, as book, bell, and candle light. The Earl was sworn to forsake the name of O'Brien, and use the name and style of Earl of Thomond, and

be faithful and true to the King and Queen; and they in like case were sworn to be true and faithful subjects, to be true to their Captain the Earl of Thomond, and utterly to withstand all such as will take and usurp upon them the name of O'Brien. After this the Deputy dined with the Earl of Desmond, and remained there till Tuesday.

"Finis Quod Phil. Butler, alias Athloon poursuivant d'armes."

Barely three months after this glorification of the parents and kindred of this infant, the Earl of Desmond died, and was succeeded by his unfortunate son Gerald the 15th Earl.

Life was short in those days, and what had to be done needed to be done quickly. After nine months of widowhood the Countess remarried, with the Queen's approbation, as the reader has seen, with the Earl of Thomond. This lady's second experience of matrimonial life was of short duration, for two years scarcely elapsed before the annalists were compelled to chronicle her demise.

"The age of Christ 1560.

"The daughter of Mac Carthy, i. e., Eveleen, daughter of Donnel, son of Cormac Ladrach the wife of the Earl of Desmond in her youth, namely of James the son of John who was son of Thomas, and afterwards the wife of the Earl of Thomond, namely of Conor the son of Donogh son of Conor, a charitable, humane, friendly, and pious Countess died, and was interred in the burial place of her ancestors, namely Oirbhealach" (now Irrelagh or Muckruss Abbey, situated near the rocky shore of a small bay at the end of the lower lake of Killarney, and within the demesne of Muckruss in the Co. of Kerry.—Dr. O'Donovan).

Thus was the child of so great promise left an orphan when but two years of age. With the encomiums of the parents by the chroniclers in his recollection, the reader may understand the terrible misfortune of this infant in falling under the guardianship of Donal Mac Carthy, called by Bingham "a most vile man," and by Sir H. Sydney "a mischievous monster." On the 21 March, 1569, John Corbine wrote to Cecyl of the practices of Mac Carthy Earl of Clancar, and James Fitz Edmond with Mac Carthy Reagh and others; "The Earl of Clancar has the charge of James Mac-an-Erle the Earl of Desmond's brother, twelve years old, who would be better brought up by the Queen." As the youth grew towards manhood he received ample proof of the friendly disposition of the Queen and the Lord Deputy towards him; for Her Majesty especially interfered to compel the Earl, his brother, to surrender to him the estates bequeathed to him by his father, and which had been withheld from him; nor was this the only, or the earliest proof given of the desire to attach him to the cause of order and obedience. In a list of "Knights made from anno. 1566 to the year 1578, tempore H. Sydney, Dep." we find his name occurring in 1566. The entry is peculiar, and suggests the exercise of especial favour towards him. Immediately following the names of Sir Edward Fitton, and Sir Peter Carewe, occurs the entry "Sir James Fitz Gerald, brother to the Earl of Desmond in his ———" it is not difficult to supply the word here omitted, "in his *childhood*" was evidently intended; for the young Knight was but eight years old at the time. But the rebellious example of his kinsmen, and the influence of his brothers the Earl, and Sir John of Desmond, which was certainly not opposed by any sager counsel of his guardian the Earl of Clancar, overpowered all sense of gratitude to the Lord Deputy, and duty to his Sovereign. When his relative Fitz Maurice landed at Smerwick, and raised his standard a second time in rebellion, Sir James, with his elder brother Sir John, immediately joined him. The course of his rebellion lasted, as we have said, barely a year. The single incident in this brief career worthy of any record is his presence in the fight of Monaster-Nenagh, where, as Sir Wm. Stanley wrote to Walsyngham, "The rebels came as resolutely minded to fight the battle of the 3rd [of October, 1579] at Monaster-Nenagh as the best soldiers in Europe could." Relative to this encounter of the forces of Fitz Maurice and his relatives with the Queen's troops, Sir Nicholas Malbie wrote to the same minister—"In the conflict with the traitors all their captains were slain, saving the two traiterous brethren who carried away the Pope's standard through the woods and thorns in post haste. Desmond joined his force of 600 Galloglas with 600 of his brethren, gave them his blessing, and instructions to fight on the morning of the battle, and then departed to Askeaton himself. The Earl of Clancar had a base son and many men slain there." Soon followed letters, written to England by his captors and others, detailing the wretched encounter in which the young Geraldine fell grievously wounded by the hands of his kindred, and was captured and delivered by them to the Queen's government. His entreaty to his kinsmen to strike off his head rather than

to deliver him to the enemies of his house, and his gallantry in the fight of Monaster Nenagh suggest what the youth might have been had his noble parents been spared to train him, instead of his falling into the evil hands of the reprobate Earl his uncle:—

Aug. 6, 1580.—*ST. LEGER TO ORMOND.*

“My dutie don to y^r L., a messeng^r repeiring now to wardes you I thought it my parte to advertece yo^r hon^r of sutch matt^{rs} as are here lately befallen: Upon Thursday last the 4th of this moneth S^r Cormuck M^c Teig going to take a prey from the Rebels and beeing onwarde in his way to perfourme y^e same, there came to him intelligence that the Traitor S^r James of Desmond wth div^{rs} oth^{rs} of his Accomplises was coming to take a prey out of Muskry. Whereuppon the said S^r Cormucke returned into his Country: In w^{ch} his returne he lighted on the said S^r James going his way wth a greate pray, and so S^r Cormucke meeting him set uppon him, and hath taken him prisoner beeing sore wounded, and hath sleyn xiiij^{xx} men whose bodyes were founde: besides sundry gent^r kild whose names I send yo^r l. here inclosed. A peece of service don, wo^rthy of great comendation and a full requitall of his form^r slacknes: I hope this wilbe a setting on of oth^{rs} to follow his good example. The prison^r had been brought heth^r to this Towne, but y^t it is doubted if he shulde be removed, he wo^{ld}e presentlye dy of his hurtes. And therefore wee have thought (he beeing in safe custody) to let him remeyn there for a tyme till he may be somewhat amended of his woundes and then brought heth^r; he greatly desired to have his hede cut of, whereby he might not be brought hether: S^r having no further matt^r at this tyme to trouble yo^r l., wth thanckes for yo^r sundry Curtezies, I humbly take my leve.

“From Corke this 6th of August 1580,

“Y^r l. at comandm^t

“WARHAME SENTLEGER.”

Addressed. “To the right hon^oable my singul^r goode lorde Theler of Ormond and Ossery, lorde Thresore^r of Ireland and lorde generall of her Mat^s Forces in Mounster.”

Endorsed. “Aug. 6, 1580. S^r Warham S^t leger to my l. of Ormond James of Desmond taken sore hurt, and dyvers gent^r slayne.”

1580, AUG. 6.—*P. GRANTE TO THE EARL OF ORMOND.*

“Right honno^oable my humble dwetie alwaies remembred: this is to lett you^r L. to understand of suche service as was done in this com^r, [county] sithence yo^r honno^o departed from hence: first, on the xxvj of the last moneth, M^r Justice Walsh repaired to Carrebrey in companey wth S^r Cormecke M^c Teig, sherif of this com^r, where they kept cessions, and hanged one of the galleglashe that wth S^r Johne of Desmond (that traitor^r) takinge the pray of Kerrycurrehe and one oth^r that killed a man wthin 4 daies before: and then he sent for the Clandermonds^l w^{ch} were of longe tyme in warre against S^r Cormecke, and uppon their cominge he made them friends of eith^r side. On the 29 of Julij aforesaid they came to Muskrey, and there kept cessions, where there was one notable rebell executed.

“Also on the saied day one Conogho^r o Mahoune being a rebell and kept xl men alwayes attending uppon him, was killed by ij cosen jermains of his owne, w^{ch} are sones to O'Mahoune that now is, and his head send heith^r to Corcke (wth Conogho^r was broth^r to Teige M^c Releegy, who also is come in uppon proteccōn).

“More ov^r on the 4 of this moneth, S^r James of Desmond being accompanied wth ij^e men came to taik the spoile of Muskrey, and have taiken about 2000 kyne and garrans (as is reported). And S^r Cormeck und^rstanding of his so doeng, gathered his forces togeth^r having wth him both his brethren Donyll my Countie and Kallekhane, and followed the saied Traitors, w^{ch} Donyll have not stayed for his companey (being well horsed) went uppon the rebels and manfullie bracke uppon them and fve tymes gott trough the myddest of them before his owne companey or his broth^r S^r Cormeck came at them; then uppon the comeng of the greet companey they slewe 79 persones, have taken 3 prerson^{rs}, and S^r James himself haven maney deadlie wonds, and is also taken presoner and lies at a Castle of S^r. Cormecks called Carriedroged.

¹ The sept of the MacCarthys “Cluasagh” of Clan Dermond, who dwelt “by west the Leppe

in Carbry adjoining to O'Donovane, and O'Mahon Finn.”

"There iij of Sr Cormeckes men killed, vij soer wounded and his broth^r Donyll was wounded wth a dart w^{ch} strock him under the right eare and gott sidling through his necke vj unches, but god be thancked he shall take no harme.

"Mr. David Barrie have a good companey in aredynes to do a pece of service, and do also meane to joyne wth Sr Cormecke against the rebels, and both of them do hope in god that they will cut of verye shortlie therle and Sr Johne, or els they will lose their oune lyves if ev^r the Rebels come wthin any place of this countie; And all that they do is and shalbe by yo^r L: advice unto them, and from hence forward yo^r honno^r shall not need any way to mystrwst their service.

"Cessions shalbe kept here on Monday next beinge the 8th of this moneth.

"My L. Justice hath written his warrant to the Sesso^r of this countie of putting in of 900 galleglash for 2 monethes.

"Also where my L. Justice did grant unto me at his last being in this cittie und^r his hand thoffice of gent^r port^rship, uppon Sr. Warhame is comeng from Lym^ricke he send for me and telt me that my L. Justice wilt him to deale wth me for geveng ov^r of the same office, and that his L. did pase the same to one of his oune men w^{ch} is an English man, and sayes that by instructions come to his L. out of England he is appointed to have none in that office but one borne wthin the realme of England: yet I do stand in the matt^r till yo^r honno^r do come theith^r, not for any comoditie that I can gett by it but for the credit of the same: Sr Warhame saies for yo^r L. sake that he will not se me ov^r laied in this matt^r, and thus I most humbly take my leave: From Coreke the vjth. of August 1580,

"Yo^r honno^rs most humble servant to command.
PR. GRANTE."

Addressed. "To the Right honno^rable and my singular good L. and Mr, Therle of Ormond and Osserey, heigh L. Threesorer of Ireland and L. Generall of Mounster."

Endorsed. "Aug. 6, 1580. Graunt to my l. of Ormond, Sr James of Desmond taken sore wounded."

1580, AUG. 28.—ORMONDE TO LO. DEP: GREY.

"The Copie of my L. of Ormonds lre.

"My very good L. on the xxijth of this month I marched wth myn owne companyes of horsmen & fotmen towards Corke, and on the xxiiijth of the same being at Sr Cormoke Mc. tege is house called the Blawernye he brought unto [me] the trayto^r James of Desmond brother to therle of Desmond, and on the morow after I thought good to put him to his triall in Corke, the maio^r, Sr Warham S^r leger, Mr Justice Welshe, Justice Meaghe and other her M^{rs} comysioners being pre^snt, he was araigned before us and Judgm^t given by the Justice that he shold dye according his desertes, and after was stayd by me from execucion tyll yo^r L. is pleasure be further known: he delyvered unto me [and] som of the said comysioners being present, his knowledg uppon certayne matters moved to him, as by his examynacon to that effecte subscribed by us and in my custody doth appere. As I returned from Corke I came through Atherlagh, a fast place where I herd the trayto^r Sr John and the rest of them were, and suche of them as were ther hid them selves in the woddes, so as none of them nor ther cattell could be met wth save a fewe kyne & ploughe gerands I brought from thence, the trayto^r Sr John of Desmond (hering of my being in Monster) wth thold trayto^r pers grace, docto^r Sandres, some fewe Spanardes and others of ther men, wer afor my comyng to Atherlaghe entered into a pece of my contrey, burned 2 villages there, toke the spoile of them and slewe some Kerne & husbandmen of myn that folowed to rescue ther goodes: after this they went throw ossorye quietly wthout resistance to assault my brother Pers dwelling in thabbey of leix, and toke all the cattell ther and burned a towne of myn called balliosker,

"From Kilkenny the xxvijth. of August 1580, Yo^r. lo. fast assured

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSORIE.

Addressed. "To the right hono^rable my very good L. my L. Deputie."

SR. WARHAM ST. LEGER TO MY L. FROM CORKE.

"My humble dutie don to yo^r l., a shippe departing hence for England I think it my parte to informe yo^r hono^r. of the state here.

"Morgan is appointed to keepe Youghall w^t a hundred men, I was commanded by the Lorde Generall to remeyn here, as charged w^t S^r James of Desmond, who (by direction from the lorde deputie) I caused to be hanged drawen and quartered at the gates of this Towne on Munday last: who yelded to godward a better end, then otherwise he woulde have don, if he had not dyed y^t death.

"From Corck the 9th of October 1580 Yo^r l. to commaunde
"WARHAM SENTLEGER."

Addressed. "To the right honorable my singular good Lorde the lorde Burghley lorde high Thresurer of England in haste poste haste for life."

Endorsed. "9 Octob. 1580.

"S^r. Warham St Leger to my l. from Corke Advertisementes of y^e State of that Cuntry Thexecuccon of James of Desmond."

The same pen which had recorded the virtues of his parents, has recorded also certain particulars of the last few days of the existence of Sir James of Desmond, which afford to the Christian reader consolation so great as to deprive even the brutal details of his execution of much of their terrors:—

"James himself was taken, and sent to Cork to be imprisoned. He was (confin'd) nearly a month in this town, daily preparing himself for death, doing penance for his sins, and asking forgiveness for his misdeeds. At the end of that time a writ arrived from Dublin from the Lord Justice and the Council, ordering the Mayor to put that noble youth to death, and cut him in quarters and little pieces. This was accordingly done."—Annals of the Four Masters, 1580.

Thomas the 10th Earl of Ormonde, whose name has been before the reader throughout all the previous pages, was the most conspicuous of the personages to whom the rule of Ireland was intrusted during the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a brave and upright man, but regarded human life with a shameful disrespect, as the long lists sent by himself to the English Privy Council, of persons put to death by him during his command of the royal forces, but too manifestly prove. He died on the 22nd of November, 1614, at his house at Carrick,—“the Carrig” which we have seen assaulted and made prey of by the Seneschal of Imokilly. He was aged 82, and had been blind for the last few years of his life. He was thrice married, 1st, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, by whom he left no issue, and from whom he was in 1564, not without reason, if we may attach belief to the following letter from one of his friends, divorced:—

"It is fully agreed that from the first day of August next, there shalbe no Coynoo nor Lyvery used in the Countie of Tiperarie, but the same to be governed and defended in Inglish sort and order, the copie of the devise wherof I have sent to youre wourship herinclosed. My L. of Ormonde and my Ladie his wife be devoured from bed and borde, I have ever hitherto (upon good respectes) favored her cause, but nowe upon hir L. departure into Inglande, my L. hathe disclosed unto me such letters past betwixt hir and one Morgan more, and Mansfelde, importing so great folye as I feare she hath deiserved to have fewe frendes or none in this case, (God comfort hir and give him grace to be worthie of a chaste wife), thus beinge loothe to trouble youre wourship, I make an ende.

"From Whits halle, this xx day of Julie, 1564. Yo^r owne to comaunde,
"NICHOLAS WHITE."

Addressed. "To the right wourshipfull my good frend S^r Thomas Wrothe, Knight."

Ormonde married, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield, who died in 1600, by whom he had two sons, neither of whom outlived him, and a daughter Elizabeth; and thirdly, Helena, daughter of David Lord Buttevant, by whom, who survived him, and lived till 1642, he had no issue. He was succeeded in the Earldom by his nephew Walter, son of John Butler of Kilcash, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Cormac na Haoine Mac Carthy Reagh.

CAP. IV.—THE SUGAN EARL OF DESMOND.

When placed, by the death of James Fitz Maurice, in the undisputed possession of his Earldom, James Fitz John occupied himself in restoring tranquillity to his people who had suffered so much in his cause, and his father's. His first care was to effect his reconciliation and theirs with his sovereign; his overtures were received in a friendly spirit, and he became, and continued thenceforward an obedient, nay, a zealous subject of the king, and a wise counsellor to the Lord Deputy in all matters concerning his own province. The despatches that reached the king during the whole continuance of the Earl's life were such as had been rarely before written from Munster. On the 22nd of December, 1551, Sir James Croftes wrote to Sir W. Cecyll, "That which I have spoken of the Erle of Decemonde is true, as you shall p'ceyve by l'res wrytten to me, and one other, the copies whereof I sende you, that you may iudge wth me how noble a man he is made by the Kings Ma^{ty}s goodness, w^{ch} before lawles lyved, without any good rule or ordre, and now in justice none more severe then he; for his eldest sonne the Lorde Garrett taking a prairie from an Irysheman adioyning to his cuntry, and beying in the Castle of Dublin, at my comaundment, both for restitution, and for his ponnyshem^t, hath sent me word that I sholde nether spare to ponnyshe hym, nor any other that offendyd with him; a rare thing to fynde suche a father in these p'ties."

A similar account of the Earl's conversion to loyalty, and certain wise suggestions by which this loyalty might be best encouraged; and at the same time a sad description of the poverty to which this great Earl was reduced by the long desolating struggle for the succession, was presented to His Majesty by the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger:—

"According to my moste bounden deutie it may please your most Excoellente Majestie to be advertised that immediately after the wryting of my laste letters to your Majestie, I repayred to a castell of your Highnes cauled Caterloghe, where I hadde before appoynted to kepe the Christemas aswell for th' establisshement of the Cavenaghs as the Omores and other Irissshemen beyng borderers to the same your castell, where resorted to me the saide Cavenaghs and Omores with meny other Irissshemen aswell to do ther dewties for the honour of your Highnes to me a poore man, your Deputie, as also to have redres of wronges commytted amonges them. Wherin I truste to God suche order was taken by me and the Lorde Chancellor here (who hathe this journey and in all other sythe my repaire into this lande taken greate paynes) as redoundethe to the honour of your Majestie and the quyete of the contrey. And ther taryng till the Monday after New yeris day, I, with my fellows the Commissioners and the saide Lorde Chancellor with your saide Counsell ther being, wente towards James of Desmonde, first taking with us the Erle of Ormonde, who in the sayde progres made me and my saide fellowes grete chere. And so having before sente to the saide Erle of Desmonde he advertised me that he wolde upon pledges for him resorte to me towards the cety of Casshell, whereunto I with the saide Erle of Ormonde and the reste of your Counsell repayred and sent eftsones to the saide James who was not paste 10 miles thence. He required to have the Erle of Ormonde in pledge for him which I wold not agre unto, but sent the Archbishop of DUBLYN, Mr. Travers, Master of your Ordinance, and a brother of my owne, who remayned for hym, in pledge, and so he cam to us to the saide Casshell, where after dyverse overtures to hym made and declaring how good and gracious your Majestie hadde bene unto hym, we advised him bothe to submitte hymselfe to your Majesties obedience according his naturall dutie, and also to make moste humble sute for your moste gracious pardon whiche I had redy to be delyverid unto hym upon resonable conditions whiche I and my fellowes wolde exhibite unto him. Wherin we founde the saide Erle moste willing to submitte him selfe according our advice. And for that we were not ther in place propice, we departed from thence to one Sir Thomas Butleres howse, where we fully concluded with the saide Erle of Desmonde making his humble submission in maner and fourme as may appere to your Majestie by the copie of the same herin inclosed. And in presence of M^r William, O Chonor and dyverse other Irisshe gentilmen to the number of 200 at the leste, he knelyd down before me and moste humbly delyverid his saide submission, desiring me to delyver unto him his saide pardon granted by your Majestie; affirming that it was more gladde to hym to be so reconciled to your favours then to have any worldly treasure, protesting that no erthely cause shoulde make him fro' hence forthe swarve fro' your Maties obedience. And after that done I delyverid to

hym your saide moste gracious pardon, whiche he moste joyfully accepted. And then considering the grete variance betwene the Erle of Ormonde and him concerning the title of the Erledome of Desmonde, the saide Erle of Ormonde having maryed the doughter and generall heier of the ondoubted Erle of Desmonde and this man pretending but as heier male, I and my fellowes thought it not good to leave that cancor remayne, but so labored the matter on bothe sydes that we have brought them not only to a fynall ende of the saide title, but also themselves have concluded betwene them a crosse mariage to be hadde betwene ther children, ether bounde to other in the som of foure thowsande £ sterling to perfourme the same, and sworne before us upon the Evangelistes to consarve the peace and to joyne as subjectes ought to do in the service of your Majestie. Whiche matters being ther finissed I and your saide Chancelor and Master Cavendishe your Commissioner departed from thence, at requeste of the saide Erle to a towne cauled Kylmalocke where I thinke none of your Graces Deputies cam this hundreth yeris before, where he made us very good chere and toke my comyng and thers thethir in so kinde parte, that he openly declared that if I wold desire him to go to London to your Majestie, he wolde gladly do the same. And thus tarieng with him 2 daies in the saide Kylmallock as well to survey serten your landes ther as also to fulfill his requeste, he and we with the ladie his wife wente to your Highnes city of Lymericke, wher mette with us the Erle of Ormonde and ther we taryed 8 daies as well to paeifie sarten matters of variance depending among the citezins there as also to parle with O'Brien, who is the gretest Irisshe man of the west of this lande, who cam to the saide cite and ther remayned with us 3 daies, in whiche tyme we moved hym to conforme himselfe to your Majesties obedience upon serten articles; wherunto he requyred, for as miche as he was but one man, all though he were capytayne of his nation, that he moght have time till Shroftide to consulte with his kinsfolke and frendes and then to make answer to the same accordingly, but for his own parte he didde not deny your Highnes to be king of all Irelande. But it lyked him nothing that we wolde not permitte him nether to buylde his brydge upon the Shenon, nor yet suffer him to have those Irisshe men upon his peace that be upon this side the same river, whiche he pretendid hadde bene upon the peace of his predecessors and were wonte to be upon his peace and now be upon your Highnes peace. For I showed hym playnly that rather then he shold have libertie in any of the bothe I wold be at warre with him as long as it pleased your Matie to permitte me. As I here of his answer I will God willing advertise your Majestie accordingly. And if he do not com to honeste conformite I truste with your Highnes supportacion to sette little by his malice and all the frendes he can make, for the Erle of Desmonde and Erle of Ormonde, McWilliam, and Donoghe O'Brien being your Highnes faithfull subjectes as I truste I may now call them, O'Brien shall have little powar to anoye your subjectes here. I assure your Majestie that sithe my repaire into this your lande I have not herde better counsell of no man for the reformation of the same then of the saide Erle of Desmond, who undoubted is a very wise and a discrete gentelman and as farre as we can possible perceive a man moste rejoysing the attaining of your favours that is possible to be. And we were so bolde upon your Majestie to swere him of your counsell. And being among us declared that the variance betwene hys auncestors and the Erles of Ormonde hadde bene the only cause of the decay of that lande and of your subjectes and the grete increase of the Irisshe men whiche he now trusted shuld be clerely extirped, so, that bothe he and they mought now concurre in the sarvice of your Majestie, he will not faile God willing to be here at Dublyne at the Parliamente. Wherefore if it may please your Majestie to geve unto him parliamente robes and some aparell, whereof he hath grete lacke and not furnisht with substance to buye the same, his contrey as yet being in maner wasted with the warres, it shal be to him a grete comforte. I as a poore man gave unto him gowne, jackette, doblotte, hose, shertes, cappes, and a riding cote of velvet, whiche he toke very thankfully and ware the same in Lymericke, and in all places where he wente with me. In the brynging in of this man a servante of your Majesties called Edmonde Sexten hath taken grete paynes, moste humbly beseeching your Highnes that he may perceive by your gracious letters that ye take the same in good parte. For syche thinges as the saide Edmonde was accused to your Majestie it apperithe upon the examination thereof that it miche procedid of malice.

"There is also one McGillapatricke who is lorde of a faire contrey called Upper Osserie, that, at my firste being here, &c., &c.

"From your Highnes manor of Kylmaynan besides Dublin, the 21st of Februarij.

"Your humble servante and subjecte,

"ANTHONY SENTLEG^r."

Superscribed. "To the king His moste Excellence Majestie."

The document placed by the Earl of Desmond in the hands of the Lord Deputy, and despatched by him to the king, was a formal declaration of allegiance, of his readiness at all times to obey the King's Majesty in all things, as any other Earl in Ireland was held to do, and to respect the rights of his neighbours, Irish and others, which neither his own ancestors, nor any other Earls, were much in the habit of doing. From this detailed instrument of allegiance we learn that "syns the behedding of his grandfather [Thomas the 8th Earl] in Drougheda, coming to a Parliament ther holden," all the Earls his successors "had ever claymed to have priviledge and exemption to apaire in no Parliament ne grande counsaill to be holden in this lande: nether to come withiin walled town under the king's obedience."

This privilege he now renounced for himself and his heirs for ever. Smith, the historian of Cork and Kerry, informs us that James the 7th Earl of Desmond was suffered, during the government of Richard Duke of York, who was his gossip, and of Thomas Earl of Kildare (his kinsman), to raise upon the king's subjects the Irish impositions of Coign and Livery, Cosherings, Bonnaghts, &c. Notwithstanding those illegal extortions, he procured license dated Aug. 11, 1446, twenty-two years before the execution of his successor at Drogheda, to absent himself from all future Parliaments, only sending a sufficient proxy in his room. Thomas the 8th Earl of Desmond was said to have been the first who introduced these extortions amongst the king's subjects, and it was under the pretext of punishing him for doing so that he was beheaded at Drogheda, whither he had been summoned by the Deputy to attend Parliament. Why the later Earls of Desmond held so firmly by the privilege, accorded to James the 7th Earl, of absenting themselves from all Parliaments, and from attendance, on any pretext, on the King's Deputy within any walled town, the document of allegiance signed by James Fitz John ascribes to its true and sufficient cause.

Several years of bitter party warfare and the desolation of all Munster had resulted from the disputed succession to the Earldom of Desmond, and the disputed succession itself, from a marriage disapproved of by the great body of the Geraldines, and believed to have been contracted within the prohibited degrees of kindred. Maurice, the son of Thomas the 12th Earl, had married the daughter of the White Knight, and it was solemnly declared by James Fitz John, the nephew of Thomas, in a letter to the king in support of his own claim, that the contracting parties were cousins germain. This assertion remains, as far as we know, uncontradicted, and it is certain that the chief supporters of James Fitz Maurice, the offspring of this marriage, were the Mac Carthys, to whom he had allied himself by his marriage with a daughter of Cormac Oge, the Lord of Muskerry, and the authorities who, above all things, sought to prevent disturbance in Munster, and who desired to settle the matter by due course of law; and his chief opponents, the great body of the Geraldines, who considered the marriage null, and the fruit of it illegitimate. Upon the irregularity of this marriage depended the justice of the claim of James Fitz John to the Earldom, when Thomas the 12th and John, calling himself 13th Earl, were gathered to their fathers. This long and fiercely contested dispute was settled, not by course of law, nor in accordance with the wish of the king, but by the sword. James Fitz Maurice was slain by his uncle, Maurice Dubh, and James Fitz John found himself without a competitor; but unfortunately he found himself in precisely the situation which had cost the unhappy Fitz Maurice his Earldom, and his life. He too had married within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity; and it was not to be expected that his sept, and their allies, with their passions barely subsiding after their long and fierce quarrel to avert such a stain from the blood of their chieftain, would submit to allow the succession to pass to an heir similarly stigmatized. James Fitz John had made a marriage, probably more abhorrent to his people than his uncle Maurice had done; he had married, not indeed his cousin germain, but his grand niece. His brother, Black Maurice, had several daughters; one of them had married Maurice Roche, Lord Fermoy, and it was her daughter whom James Fitz John had married before the outbreak of the late war for the succession, and by whom he had already a son, his supposed heir. The Earl could not fail to see before him a prospect of the repetition of all the terrible struggles through which he had himself passed, and the probable repudiation of his son. Yielding to the exigency of his situation, and doubtless under pressure of the opinions of all around him, he put away his unfortunate wife, declared the marriage null, and his son illegitimate, and immediately married afresh. His second wife was a daughter of O'Carroll chieftain of Ely O'Carrol, and by her he had a son whom he immediately declared his heir. The King and his Irish Government, wearied also of a civil war which they had not the power to suppress, and profiting by their past experience of the little attention paid to their wishes in the mode of settling such clan quarrels, at once accepted the decision of the Earl.

From this time forward James Fitz John met with no further obstacle to the tranquil enjoyment of his Earldom, either from the government, or the allies of the deceiver; nor did he himself cause any further anxiety to the king, or the Lord Deputy. The rival house of Ormonde had no longer any legitimate cause of open enmity, for the Earl of Desmond had become extremely loyal; it may even be presumed that the great rancour of the ancient rivalry had been, in some measure mitigated, for James Fitz John finding himself a second time a widower, espoused Catherine, a daughter of Pierce Earl of Ormonde, at the time widow of Richard Lord Poer. Soon after the death of James Fitz Maurice, when all opposition to him had entirely ceased, the Earl repaired to England to pay his homage to his Sovereign, from whom Mr. Lodge informs us that "he met with a princely reception, and entertainment; was honoured with the post of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and was admitted into the Privy Council." He was one of the ablest Earls this great race had produced.

In the course of his long life he was four times married. His first wife was, as we have mentioned, Joan, daughter of Maurice, Lord Fermoy, from whom he was divorced; by her he had a son, afterwards known as Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald; his second wife was More, or Maud, daughter of Sir Molrony O'Carroll, Lord of Elye O'Carroll, and by her he had two sons, and four daughters. The sons were Gerald, his successor, and Sir John of Mogeely, killed in his brother's rebellion by Captain Zouche in 1581, whose only daughter Ellen was, according to Lodge, married to Donal Mac Carthy. The daughters were Ellice, married to James, Viscount Buttevant; Margaret, to Thomas, Lord Kerry; Ellen, to John, Lord Poer of Curraghmore; and Honora, to Donal Mac Carthy Mor, Earl of Clancar. His third wife was Catherine, the second daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde, widow of Richard, Lord Poer; by her he had no issue. The last of his wives was Eveleen, daughter of Donal M'Cormac Ladhrach Mac Carthy Mor, and sister of the Earl just mentioned, by whom he had a son, James Sussex Fitzgerald, who shared the common ruin of all his race; and a daughter, Ellen, married first to Edward Butler, and secondly to Sir Brian O'Ruark. She died issueless. James Fitz John lived to an extreme old age, as did his brother, Black Maurice, and as his father John, the de-facto 13th Earl, had done. He lived through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, and died on the 14th October, 1558, within a month and a few days of the demise of the last-named sovereign, and was buried at Askeaton. No eulogy could be desired for him greater than that recorded by our Irish Annalists to his memory. "The loss of this good man," they say, "was woful to his country."

At the death of James Fitz John, the Earldom of Desmond passed, without a contest, to Gerald (the Great Rebel); and the son of the first marriage, called Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, after a few vain appeals to Queen Elizabeth, and an idle protest against the great injustice done to him, sunk into an obscure privacy; but in due time he married, and had two sons and a daughter. The daughter married Donald Pipi MacCarthy Reagh; the sons were James, called, in early life, James Fitz Thomas, but better known by a designation fixed upon him in unjust contempt, the Sugán Earl; and John, who, after his brother's death, assumed the title of Earl of Desmond, and passed the latter years of his life in honoured exile in Spain. As soon as the elder of these brothers became of an age to comprehend his position, he joined his father in a renewed appeal to the Queen for the restitution of what they considered their rights; he even repaired to the Court, where he met with some encouragement, and obtained a promise of some small yearly allowance for his own maintenance. When the Earl, his uncle, burst into rebellion, neither he nor his father, Sir Thomas, joined him; on the contrary, James, according to his own showing, took part, though a not very important part, against him. When the Earl was slain, and universal ruin fell upon the entire race of the Geraldines, the feeble appeal of the sons of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald were again heard, but were speedily drowned in the great clamour of the undertakers. The vast territory of the Fitz Gerald was parcelled out into signories amongst adventurous English gentlemen, from whom more loyalty was expected; and the few Fitz Gerald, against whom no treason could be proved, were permitted, through Her Majesty's great clemency, to retain the lands they had inherited. In 1598 a tempest of war again burst over Ireland, and, to use the words of the Annalists, Munster became again "a trembling sod." The undertakers, as might have been expected, instantly disappeared. The Earl of Ormonde wrote to the Queen, early in October:—"At my coming to this province (Munster) I found that all the undertakers, three or four excepted, under Your Highness correction, had most shamefullie forsaken all their Castelles, and dwelling places, before anie rebell came in sight of them, and left their Castells with their municions, stuff and cattell to the traytors, and no manner of resistance made."

The Queen's Governors were shut up within the walls of the towns in which they resided, and O'Neill, the victor of the Blackwater, was acknowledged as supreme ruler of Ireland; his first proceeding with regard to Munster was to desire James Fitz Thomas to assume the title of Earl of Desmond, and to cause a rising out of all the Geraldines; or to make way for John, his younger brother, to do so. No one can be surprised at the readiness with which Fitz Thomas obeyed this summons. Before long he found himself at the head of 8000 well-weaponed men, in part his own followers, in part Bonoughts hired, or sent by O'Neill, and officered by his own followers. The history of this severe struggle for the possession of Ireland is too well known to require further notice of it here, where the purpose chiefly is to present the reader with certain less known passages in the biography of the Sugán Earl. The same stern man, Thomas Earl of Ormonde, who had extinguished the previous rebellion in the blood of Gerald the Fifteenth Earl of Desmond, was charged by the Queen with the suppression of this. The earliest encounter between the Queen's Commander-in-Chief and O'Neill's was of a pacific nature; an interchange of polite letters—the salute of courteous swordsmen before entering upon deadly duel.

The letter of Fitz Thomas was a truthful and firm, though respectful protest against the injustice done to him and his father, and to many of his name and race, and his determination now to right himself and them:—

October 8, 1598.—THE EARL OF ORMONDE TO JAMES FITZ THOMAS.

"James Fitz Thomas, Hit seemed to us most strange when wee hard you were combined and ioyned wth theis Leinster Traytors lately repayed into Munster, considering how your father Sir Thomas alwaies continued a dutifull subject, and did manie good offices to further Her Mat's service; from w^{ch} course if you should degresse, and now ioine wth those unnaturall traytors, we maie think you very unwise; and that you bring upon yourself your own confusion, w^{ch} is thende of all traytors, as by daylie experience you have seene; wherefore wee will that you doe p'sentlie make your repaire unto us whersoever you shall hear of our beinge, to lay down your griefes and complaints, if you have anie; and if you stand in anie doubt of yoursealf theis our l^{res} shall be for you, and such as shall accompanie you in your cominge and retorneng from us, your safeties; and further on your drawinge neere the place where wee shalbe we will send you safe conduct for you.

"THOMAS ORMOND & OSSERY.

"Geven at the Campe of Cowlin, 8 Oct^r 1598.

"Wee need not put you in mind of the late overthrowe of the Earle your uncle, who was plaged, wth his p'takers, by fier, sworde, and famine; and be assured if you p'ceede in anie trayterous actions you will have the like end. What Her Ma^{ties} forces have done against the King of Spaine, and is hable to doe against anie other enemye the world hath seene, to Her Highnes immortal fame; by which you maie iudge what she is hable to do against you or anie other that shall become traytors."

Superscribed. "To James Fitz Gerald.

Geve theis in hast."

JAMES FITZ THOMAS TO THE EARL OF ORMONDE.

"R^t Hon: I received your Lo^s l^{res}, wherein yo^r Lo. dothe specifie that you think it verie straunge that I shoulde ioyn in ac'on wth theis Gent^{en} of Leinster. It is soe that I have ever at all times behaved myself dutifullie, and as a true subjecte to Her Ma^{ties} as ever laie in me; and as it is well known to yo^r Lo. I have showed my willingnes in seruice against my uncle, and his adherents, wherbie I have bin partelie a meane of his destruction. Before my uncle's deseace it maie be remembered by yo^r Lo. that I have bin in England from my Father, cleamege title to his inheritance of the House of Desmonde, which is manifestlie known to be his righte; wherupon Her Ma^{ties} hath p'missed of her gracious favour to doe me iustice upon the deseace of my uncle, who then was in ac'on, and haue allowed me a marke sterling p^r diem towards my maintenance, untill Her Matt's further pleasure were known, of w^{ch} I never receaved but one year's paie; and euer since my uncle's deseace I could gett no hearinge concerninge my inheritance of the Earldome of Desmond, but have bestowed the same uppon diuers undertakers, to disinherite me for euer; haueing all this while staid

myself in hope to be gratuslie dealt withall by Her Ma'tie, seeinge no other remedie, and that I coulede gett no indifferencie, I will followe by all the meanes I can to maintaine my right, trustinge in the Almightye to further the same.

"My verie good Lo: I haue seene so manie bad exsamples in seekinge of diuerse manie gentⁿ bluddely false and sinister accusations, cutt off and executed to death, that the noble-men and chief gentlⁿen of this province cannot think themselves assured of their lyues, if they were contented to loose their landes and liuings; as for example, Redmond Fitz Geralde uppon the false informac'on of a scurfey boy for safegard of his leif, was putt to death, being a gentⁿ of good callinge, being three score years of age, and innocent of the crime charged wthall. Donoghe M'Craghe alsoe was executed uppon the false informac'on of a villainous Kerne, who w^{thin} a seuenight was putt to death w^{thin} yo^r Lop^s Libertie at Clonmell, who tooke uppon his salvac'on all that he said against the said Donogh was untrue, that he was subborned by others. Of late a poore cosen of ours, James Fitz Morris of Mocholopa, is so abominable delt wthall uppon the false informac'on of an Englishman accusing him of murder, who neuer drewe sworde in anger all the daies of his life, and is manifestlie knowne that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like. Pierce Lacie who was an earnest seruitor, and had the killinge of Rory McMorrogho, and the apprehension of Morrogho Oge, till he left him in the geale of Limerick, and after all his seruices was driuen, for the sauegarde of his leif, to be a fugitiue. To be brief wth yo^r Lo. Englishemen were not contented to haue our landes and liuings, but unmercifullie to seeke our leives by false and sinister meanes, under cullor of lawe; and as for my p'te, I will preuent it the best I maie.

"Committinge yo^r Lo: to God, I am yo^r Lo^s. loveinge cosen,

"JA: DESMONDE.

"From the Camp at Carrigrone, 12 Oct^r 1598."

Superscribed. "To the Right Hon. my verie good Lo: and cosen the Earle of Ormond and Ossery, Lo: Lieu^t. General of Her Mat's forces w^{thin} the realme of Ireland, theis to be deliuered."

Between the date of this correspondence and the date of the letter containing tidings of the writer's capture there was an interval of three years and a few months—years of indescribable misery for Ireland, of unsparing conflict between the native chieftains and the authorities—a conflict carried on and completed by such policy and exploit of war as no pen can so clearly and candidly relate as the pens of the parties engaged in them. When Sir George Carewe was shut up within the walls of Cork or Limerick, with the Sugán Earl of Desmond, and several thousand "bonies," in possession of all the open country and its fortresses and every inlet and outlet of Desmond closed by the forces of Florence MacCarthy, and the province swarming with the soldiers of O'Neill, under Dermot O'Connor, and others of his captains, the following letter was despatched by the Lo: President to Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

The project it contains, like various similar projects of the writer, called "drafts" in the language of the day, is related with a matchless candour and ingenious detail:—

AUGUST 17, 1600.—CAREWE TO CECYLL, FROM LIMERICK.

. . . James McThomas direction of his letter is 'To the R^t Honourable his very good cosin the Lo: Mac Carty More,' w^{ch} title before he leaue itt, will cost the Queane more crownes then Desmond is worthe, and therefore it is worthe of consideration.

"2049 [Sir George Carewe] found out one called Nugent, who promysed him to do Her Ma'tie service uppon the person of John McThomas; he was imprest by 2049 [Sir George Carewe] wth a horse, a pistoll, some municion, and £10 in money. Nugent wth a resolued intent did purpose to kill him wth his pistoll; and the same day that I had viewied Loghghier Nugent and John McThomas came thither; there was also one Coppinger, sometime a footman to Sir Walter Ralegh, unto whom Nugent did reveale his purpose, and promised him faythefullie to assist him in the enterprize. Not long after, John McThomas departing thence towards Arlowe woods, hauinge but onely these two above-named on horsebacke, and 2 footmen with him. Nugent tooke his pistoll in his hand, tellinge Coppinger that now he woulde kill him; and as he was ready to shoote, Coppinger snatcht his pistoll out of his hand, and cried Treason! Nugent spurringe his horse to haue escaped, by misfortune his horse stumbled, and so he was taken; and w^{thin} 2 days (after he had, by Coppinger's accusations, beene enforced to confess that he did acquaynt 2049 [Sir G. Carewe] with his enterprize), he was fayrelie hanged; of whose death there is no great losse, for he was but a protected traitor; and I doe thincke he woulde, uppon the least occasion, have relapsed. 2049

[Carewe] denies his knowledge of the pretence, and for my parte I am ignorant of it. 129 [Dermod O'Connogher] hath sworne to perform the service. 1070 [the Archbishop of Cashel] dothe follow it vehementlie. 2049 [Carewe] wolld willinglie impart the circumstances unto you, but I do forbid him, for feare of interceptinge of his lettres; for albeit the passage betwene Limericke and Corke is open, and free from any great force, yet the countrey swarms with stragginge rebels, and neutral companions that robbe all the messengers they meet w'hall to get intelligences."

The project which 1070 [Miler M'Grath, the Archbishop of Cashel] was following vehemently, met with no better success than the project of Nugent; it was a project for the capture of the Sugán Earl, and it terminated in a manner altogether unexpected and distressing; for the Archbishop had lent two of his sons to fall into a preconcerted ambush: the "bonies," into whose hands they fell had not been admitted into the mystery of the project, and the two young men were roughly handled, stripped, plundered, and put into handlocks till their father should ransom them, which, as the Archbishop piteously represented to Sir R. Cecyll, it cost him £300 to do; a sum which he was not—so he said—possessed of, which he had to borrow, and for which he was constrained to pay £30 yearly.

The incident of the capture and rescue of the Sugán Earl of Desmond, here alluded to, has been passed by with slight notice in these pages because it has been related with much detail in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and the *Annals of the Four Masters*, works in the hands of all men; but this notable scheme of Sir George Carewe to possess himself of the person of the Earl, which needed for its entire success only the means of conveying him, when captured, from Castle Lishin to Cork, through a country in the possession of the Geraldines and their allies, and swarming with their bonaghts, is related with even more detail by Carewe himself in his correspondence with Sir Robert Cecyll.

The following passage from the *Annals of the Four Masters* presents us with a crowd of Fitzgeralds who flew to the rescue of their chief, not all of whom are discoverable in their precise places in the *Genealogical Charts* accompanying these pages:—

ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS—A. D. 1600, p. 2173.

"As soon as the Geraldines had heard of the capture of the Earl, and the perilous position in which he was placed, the descendants of Maurice Fitzgerald collected from every quarter, on a certain day, to the neighbourhood of *Caislen-an-Lisin*. Thither repaired Mac Maurice of Kerry, *i. e.*, Patrickin, the son of Thomas, son of Edmond; the Knight of Kerry, *i. e.*, William, the son of John, son of William; the Knight of Glin, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John, son of Thomas; the White Knight, *i. e.*, Edmond, the son of John; and the brother of the Earl himself, viz., John, the son of Thomas Roe, and a gentleman of the Burkes, whose name was William, the son of John of the Shamrocks."

Circumstances over which Carewe had little influence were in the mean time reducing the armed force of James Fitz Thomas to numbers so small that the Lord President no longer submitted to so restricted a frontier as the walls of Cork; and he wrote to Cecyll that, "were it not for that fool Florence MacCarthy, whose designs he much distrusted, and who had so placed his people and Bonaghts as to be able, should he venture into the open country, to cut off his return to Cork, he would go at once to Limerick." When in much perplexity how to proceed, Carewe learned that so many of the Earl's Bonaghts had been withdrawn from him by O'Neill, who was himself hard pressed by the Lord Deputy, that Fitz Thomas no longer deemed it prudent to occupy the open country, and was sending portions of his force into the fastnesses of Arlow. It was whilst himself engaged in this march, with a divided force, and encumbered with baggage, that a body of cavalry, detached by Sir George Thornton, under Captain Grame, surprised him. It would seem that panic seized them, for they were scattered at once, and with little resistance. The whole force broke and fled; their baggage was all abandoned, and multitudes of them slain. From that day the Geraldines never rallied again to any purpose. The Earl dismissed the remainder of his followers, and determined to remain himself in hiding till the following Autumn, when he had full assurance of the arrival of the Spanish expedition, which was preparing, as was well known to all men. But it was no part of the design of Carewe to allow the fugitive this period of security, and the Geraldines' opportunity for the reassembling of their forces. No wise discouraged by past failures, in which the penalty of ill success had fallen only upon those who had, for sufficient consideration, encountered the risk, the Lord President meditated other "drafts," and sought other implements for their accomplishment. So fertile a mind so abundant a choice of "draftsmen," and such ample means as were found in the Queen's

Exchequer, could scarcely fail of success at last. The history of the next "draft" drawn against the Sugán Earl is related by the parties themselves engaged in it, in language equalled in its candour and detail only by the previous narrative relative to Nugent and his employer:—

FROM PACATA HIBERNIA, LIB. 2, CHAP. 3.—ANNO DOM. 1601.

"There was no man of account in all Mounster whom the President had not oftentimes laboured about the taking of the reputed Earle, still lurking secretly within this Province, promising very bountifull and liberall rewards to all; or any such as would draw such a draught whereby he might be gotten alive or dead, every man entertained these proffers, as being resolute in performing the same service, although they never conceived any such thought, but at last it happened after this manner. The Lord Barry having one hundred men in pay from the Queene, employed them many times about such service, as either the President should command or himselfe thought requisit; and namely about the fourteenth of May, knowing that one Dermond Odogan, a Harper dwelling at Garryduffe, vsed to harbour this Arch-rebell, or else upon occasion of some stealth that had been made in his countrey, the thieves making towards this fastnesse, his souldiers pursued them into this Wood, where, by good fortune, this supposed Earle with two of the Baldones, and this Dermond were gathered together, being almost ready to goe to supper; but having discovered these Souldiers, they left their meat, and made haste to shift for themselues; they were no sooner gone out of the cabbin, but the souldiers were come in, and finding this provision and a mantle (which they knew belonged to James Fitz Thomas), they followed the chase of the Stag now roused: By this time the Harper had convaied the Sugán Earl into the thickest part of the Fastnesse, and himselfe with his two other companions, of purpose discovered themselves to the souldiers, and left the wood with the Lapwing's policie; that they being busied in pursuite of them, the other might remaine secure within that Fastnesse, and so indeed it fell out; for the Souldiers supposing that James Fitz Thomas had beene of that Company, made after them till evening, by what time they had recovered the White Knight's Countrey, where being past hope of any further service, they returned to Barry Court, and informed the Lord Barry of all those accidents. On the next morning, the Lord Barry, glad of so good a cause of complaint against the White Knight, whom he hated, hasteth to the President, and relating unto him all these particulars, signifieth what a narrow escape the Arch-traytor had made, and that if the White Knight's people had assisted his Souldiers, he could not possibly have escaped their hands: Hereupon the White Knight was presently sent for, who being called before the President, was rebuked with sharp words and bitter reprehensions, for the negligence of his Countrey in so important a business, and was menaced, that for so much as hee had undertaken for his whole Countrey, therefore hee was answerable, both with life and lands, for any default by them made.

"The White Knight receiving these threatnings to heart, humbly intreated the President to suspend his judgement for a few dayes, vowing upon his soule, that if the said Desmond were now in his Countrey (as was averred) or should hereafter repair thither, hee would give the President a good account of him alive or dead, otherwise hee was contented that both his Lands and Goods should remaine at the Queenees mercy; and with these protestations he departed. And presently repairing to Sir George Thornton, hee recounted unto him the sharpe reproofs, which from the President hee had received; Sir George finding him thus well nettled, tooke hold of the occasion, and never left urging him to performe the service, until hee had taken his corporall oath (upon a booke) that he would employ all his endeavours to effect the same. As soone as he was returned to his house, he made the like moane unto some of his faithfulest Followers, as hee had done to Sir George Thornton, and to stirre up their minds to help him in the perill hee stood; hee promised him that could bring unto him word where James Fitz Thomas was, hee would give him fifty pound in money, the inheritance of a Plough land, to him and his Heirs for ever, with many immunities and freedomes.

"One of his Followers, which loved him dearely, compassionating the perplexity hee was in, But would you indeed (said he) lay hands upon James Fitz Thomas, if you knew where to find him? the Knight confirmed it with protestations. Then follow me, said he, and I will bring you where he is. The White Knight and hee, with six or seven more (whereof Redmond Burke of Muskry-quirke was one), presently upon the nine and twentyeth of May tooke horse, and were guided to a Caue in the Mountaine of Slewethgort, which had but a narrow mouth, yet deepe in the ground, where the Caytiffe Earle (accompanied onely with one of his foster brothers called Thomas Ophaghie) was then lurking.

"The White Knight called James Fitz Thomas, requiring him to come out and render himself his Prisoner. But contrarywise, hee, presuming upon the greatness of his quality, coming to the Caues mouth, required Redmond Burke and the rest to lay hands upon the Knight (for both hee and they were his naturall followers), but the wheele of his fortune being turned, with their swords drawn they entered the Caue, and without resistance disarming him and his foster Brother, they delivered them bound to the White Knight, who carried him to his Castle of Kilvenny, and presently dispatched a messenger to Sir George Thornton, to pray him to send some of the Garrison of Kilmallock to take the charge of him, which employment was committed to the care of Captaine Francis Slingsby, who, marching with his Company to Kilvenny, had the Prisoner delivered unto him, and from thence with as much expedition as might bee, the White Knight, Sir George Thornton, and Captaine Slingsby brought them unto the President, then residing at Shandon Castle, adjoining to Corke. But how the White Knight performed his promise to his servant it may be doubted, though he had one thousand pound given him from Her Majestie for the service.

"The President having thus gotten his long desired prey, not adventuring to haue him kept in the Towne, appointed him lodging and a keeper within Shandon Castle, where himselfe then remayned, and there held him in Irons, until he was sent into England, which was yet deferred; for the President being informed by the Queenes learned Councill, that if he should dye before his arraignment, the Queene could not be interested in his Lands, but by Act of Parliament, and also his brother John was not debarred by the Law from the title, which this Pretender holdeth to be good in the Earldome of Desmond.

"When the White Knight had delivered his prisoner, James Fitz Thomas, into Captaine Slingsby's custody, he told him, now the house [*sic*, perhaps a misprint for "horse"] is yours, take care and charge of him."

The same evening that the White Knight had performed this great service, he wrote an account of it to Carewe; and, without loss of time, Carewe passed on the welcome intelligence of it to the Lords of the Privy Council:—

A. D. 1601, MAY 29TH.—THE WHITE KNIGHT TO CAREWE.

"My dutie most humbly remembreth to yo^r good Lo. being not unmyndfull of the great charge yo^r Lo. gave me divers tymes, for the seeking out of James Fitz Thomas, and especially when nowe last I was at Cork, I have, both to satisfie yo^r Lo. as also to manifest my willingness to doe my Prince service, all this while endeavoured my selfe to enquier after the said Ja. for compassinge of w^h purpose I protest to yo^r Lo. I could tak noe rest, for I thinck if any other should take him but my selfe, my harte would burst. I came in conference w^h the harper, Dermod O'Doan, John Shannyghane the priest, and the Baldons, whom yo^r Lo. knoweth to be the last releavers and company, privately offeringe eurie of them p'teculerlie to have her Ma^{ty}s mercy and favor extended to them, their wiffes and children, w^h other great rewards, about w^h matter I spent a long tyme, yet eurie one of them dyd put me of, taking their ots they knew not whear the saide James was at all. Yet I found them p'iured therein because nowe I know the priest and Doan was that very day w^h him. Well when that way failed me, I brought before me all those of my country that I moste trusted and that I knewe to have loved me most. I fell into private conference w^h eurie of them p'ticulerly, shewing them what great danger was lik to ensue to me & my country unless I had don some service upon James Fitz Tho., who alwaies was founde to be bordering upon my country. Wherefore they weare to be suspected for him. And the more to procure them to ventur themselves for me in my extremitie, I published amongst them that Sir George Thorne-ton was bounde for me body for body to appear at the next Cessions. Whereupon I eftsones praied them as they loved me & my country, & to avoyd such great inconvenience, that they would wourck all the meanes they could to learne me newes of the said James, to w^h eurie one answered that they knewe nothing of him at all.

"At last seeing me in that p'plexitie, one whom I protest I least suspected of all my country, came to me a little before supper, and told me that the said Ja. and one Thomas Roe Offeighie, lay at such a cave or denn be Slervgrott. I unwilling to looss my opportunitie, seeing it pleased God to send me such good newes, repaired thither prettly w^h a very few Company, and being right ou^r the said cave or den, sent down 3 or 4 men, whose fyndinge them their, James retourned me one fourth, putinge me in mynde of his kyndred, and praigne me not to remember him at that tyme for any harme he dyd me before, promysinge to make greate amends hereof, and that he was sure to be well hable to performe it w^hin two monethes. for that he should have, or that tyme 6000 men well provided w^h ammuni-

tion and other necessaries in Mounster, wth many other unreasonable offers w^{ch} should be to my greate profite. When I would not accept any thinge at his hands, but told him that he was nowe her Ma^{ty} prison^r, then began he to raile at me, and laboured my followers and servants to forsake me and take his p^{te}, and that he would reward them lardglie with landes for their posteritie ^{for} ever, and other gifts of great value, wherof he failed, as of the rest. This is the maner of his takinge, havinge him and the saide Feighie in my safe keeping w^{thin} my Castell, to be presented to her Ma^{ty} and as I have p^{formed} this wth manie other principall seruices heretofore for her Highnes, even soe doe I hopp that this shall not be the last. I sent to Sir George Thornton to Kilmallock p^{sentlie} to bring me a good garde of horse and foote to leade him to yo^r Lo. to Corck, tomorrowe. Even soe humbly tak my leaue, resting yo^r Honor's ever to doe yo^r L. service.

"Kilmeheny this evenynge, being the 29th of May, 1601.

"EDD: GYBBON."

A. D. 1601, JUNE 3.—CAREWE TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"It may please yo^r L^{is}. the 29th of May (being the next day after the date of my last to yo^r L^{is} hearwith) the White Knight (by me employed and earnestly spurred on to repaire his former errors) did his best endeours w^{ch} (I thank God) had the successes desired. For the day aforesaid havinge notice by his espyalls wheare James Fitz Thomas (the usurping Erle of Desmond) laye hidden w^{thin} his contrye in the mountayne of Slewgrott, in an obscur caue many fathomes under the grounde, upon intelligence wth such companie as then weare in his hows wth him, not being of weaponed men above 8 in number, repaired to the place, discovered and there tooke him, and one horseman more who attended him, and brought them to one of his owne castles, from whence Sr George Thornton wth a good garde conveyed them them safe to my hows, where in Irons he remayneth, out of the w^{ch} I dare not els trust him to be kept, being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sortes (as well in this towne as in the contrei), that in my life I have ever known.

"I cannot sufficiently comend unto yo^r L^{is} this dutifull act of the White Knightes, who p^{formed} the same more in respect of his dutie to Her Ma^{ty} then for the benefit of the £400 head money proclaymed, and presently to be paide, for the doinge whereof he was not ignorant to purchase to himself the generall malice of the Prouince, wherby his desert is made the greater, and (but by himself) I protest unto yo^r L^{is} I do not know any man in Mounster by whom I might have gotten him. Neither may I leave unrecommended unto yo^r L^{is} the dilligent and painefull endeou^{rs} of Sr George Thornton, who next unto the Knight himself, hath best deserved, being the chiefeest and most effectuall instrument by me employed herein, and therefore (as well for their incoradgmets to p^{severe} in doinge Her Ma^{ty} service as to move others to forward the same) I most humbly besech yo^r L^{is} that in her Ma^{ty} name, you wolde take p^{ticular} notice of y^t, and by yo^r L^{res} to give them the thanks they deserue. For this traitors hope (notwthstanding all the miseries w^h in his tyme of distress he hath sustayned) was nothing abated; every day expecting either by Irish or Spanishe ayde (w^{ch} ayde from Spayne (as he tells me) he was confident to receave before harvest) to be no lesse hable to mentayne the wars then in former tymes; assuring yo^r L^{is} that he was the most potent Gerraldyne that ever was of any of the Erles of Desmond, his auncestors, as may well appear by the numbers of Prouincialls p^{doned} and cutt short since my cominge hither, as also by the numbers of the Bonnoughtes by me from time to time banished.

"The manner of his apprehension (for yo^r L^{is} more p^{ticular} satisfaccen) is expressed in 1^{re} of the White Knight's unto me w^{ch} herewith I send yo^r L^{is}.

"I once purposed to haue sente the arch treator by this passage into England; but upon better consideraçon (whereof I hope yo^r L^{is} will give good allowance) I do staye him for a tyme, and by the same do hope to avoyde all inconveniences that may happen; for y^f he should dye before he come to his tryall (as the judges heare informe me) the Queene (but by Act of Parliament) can not be interested in his lands; and also his brother John (by the same reason) is not by the lawe debarred from the title w^{ch} this Pretender holdes to be good, to the Erlemond of Desmond: for these reasons (by their opinions) I have resolved to have him arraigned, and adjudged heare, and then do thinke y^t meete he be sent unto England, and left as yo^r L^{is} shall please to dispose of him. And because y^t is likewise by the lawyers told me, that a man condemned in this Realme cannot, by the ordinary course of Lawe, upon the same Indictment

be executed in England, I purpose to send with him 2 or 3 indictments ready drawne with sufficient matter, by w^h he may be there at all tymes arraigned.

"The reasons that induceth me to send him lyvinge into Englande are grounded upon an apparant dowt conceaned that as soone as this Archtreator shall be executed, his brother John will ymediatly assume the title he did, and prehaunce therby prove no less powerfull than this traytor hath bin; whereas (whilst he lyves) he cannot make any pretence to move the naturall followers, and dependaunts of the hows of Desmond to assist him; likewise I hold yt (under reformac'on of yo^r graue judgments) to be very daungerous to contynue him any long tyme prisoner in Irelande, beinge (as aforesaid) so exceedingly beloved as he is, not daringe to comit him into any hands, owt of myne owne.

"G. CAREWE.

"Cork, 3^d June, 1601."

When safe, and in irons, in Carewe's own house (Shandon Castle), out of which he dared not else trust him to be kept, so exceedingly was he beloved of all sorts, overtures were made to the captive by the Lord President, with the purpose of making him, in exchange for a promise of life and Her Majesty's grace, an instrument for the capture or killing of even a more powerful rebel than he had himself been; but the first care of Carewe became, as the reader has seen by his letter of 3rd June to the Privy Council, to have him arraigned and adjudged, without which the lawyers declared Her Majesty could not, except by special Act of Parliament, be interested in his lands. It was the custom both of Carewe and Cecyll in their correspondence, to accompany their despatches to and from the Privy Council, with letters sometimes absolutely private, sometimes intended for communication to particular members of the ministry. The letter of the 3rd June was to the Privy Council; on the day following, Carewe wrote to Sir Robert Cecyll a letter which contained a foreshadowing of one of those notable inspirations of statesmanship which Carewe at times forced upon trial, and failure, in spite of the reluctant concurrence of Cecyll, and occasionally of the opposition of the Queen herself:—

JUNE 4, 1601.—CAREWE TO CECYLL.

"The titularye Erle, my prisoner, is very confident of there cominge (the Spaniards), w^{ch} made him to lead the miserable poore lyfe he did, in hope to be of greater abillitie to continew the warre then at the first; yett he is muche reserved in his speache, and will hardlye discourse anythinge that may advance Her Matie's service; but after a fewe dayes I doubt not but to make him him speake more freely."

The interval between the 4th and the 18th of June, when Carewe wrote next to Cecyll, was spent in the endeavour to teach his prisoner the necessity of freer speech. In the first hours of his captivity Fitzthomas had written to the President a letter or "Relation," which will be presently laid before the reader, in which he made such apology as he was able, in palliation, as far as it might serve, of his joining the rebellion which others, not he, had commenced. Two inducements chiefly are pleaded why his life might be spared; one plainly intended for the consideration of Carewe and Her Majesty's ministers, viz., "that his life would be of more value to the State than his death." And the other an appeal to the heart of the Queen—"He defied any Englishman to charge him with hindering him either in body or goods; but as many as ever came into his presence he conveyed them away from time to time." To this Relation of Fitz Thomas no allusion is made in the letters of the 3rd and 4th of June, of which portions are before the reader, its enclosure is not even mentioned in either of them; but in another letter of the 4th June, from Carewe to Cecyll, he says, "he had yesterday sent him by Patrick Crosbie four packets;" of these two only are in the Record Office, and doubtless it was in one of the missing packets that the enclosure of the Relation was announced, and, in all probability, Carewe's judgment of its contents, and some detail of his project regarding O'Neill, sent with it. But the letter of his captive was by no means such a document as with a little further negotiation he hoped to obtain from him. By the 18th of June he was able to write to Cecyll—"James Fitzthomas is arraynged and adijged. I would have sent him and Florence [Mac Carthy] this passadge, but I hope every day to heare out

of England to know Her Maties pleasure; but yf the winde do settle in the West I will send them presentlye unto Her Matie, beinge the best presentes thatt Mounster affordes." Although this letter speaks so positively of sending his prisoner away to England as soon as the wind should serve, he was deep at the time in negotiations with Fitz Thomas for the furtherance of a scheme by which he hoped to secure, alive or dead, the person of O'Neill. Hence no sooner had he penned that paragraph of his letter in which he promised the early despatch of his prisoners to England, than he added—"James M^c Thomas, to redeeme his owne lyfe, promises by his brother John, and Pierce Lacye, to gett me Tirone alyve or dead. I have putt him in confident hope thatt upon that service done, thatt the Queene will be gracious unto him; and thatt I may have the better ground to move them to performe the same, I do beseeche you that I may have a lertre from Her Matie unto me to assure them thatt uppon accomplyshinge the service uppon Tirone thatt James M^c Thomas shall be sure to lyve, and be sett at libertie; and that his brother John and Pierce Lacye shall be likewise pardoned."

This proposal of Carewe, which he calls a promise of his captive, to get for the President Tyrone alive or dead, reads like the promises of Walker, or Atkinson, or Combus, or a score of others, for the drawing of such a "draft" upon the great northern rebel as the President was most familiar with. How else than by assassination could the captive's brother and Pierce Lacy, the parties to be employed, both at the time fugitives, and living under the protection of O'Neill, expect—even were they willing (which Carewe seems to have considered a matter of course and certainty, but which no action in the life of either warranted him in supposing) to effect the overthrow of that powerful chieftain? It is remarkable that Carewe should have considered this wild project so practicable as that he urged the Queen to promise life and pardon to the man who had kept Munster in rebellion for nearly four years, and for whose apprehension Her Majesty was under engagement at the time to pay a thousand pounds to the White Knight. Whatever may have been the precise nature of the President's negotiations with his prisoner, two months passed away, so persistent was the wind in not settling to the west, before anything more was said about sending him to England.

In the vindication of the character of a man who openly acknowledges his hiring of assassins to remove an adversary otherwise beyond his reach, no one can take any interest; but to rescue from a calumnious accusation the fame of one who, apart from the matter of his rebellion, ever proved himself an honourable, truthful, and humane man, is by no means a matter of the same indifference. It is not absolutely impossible that between the writing of his "Relation" on the 3rd, and the 18th of June, when Carewe wrote that he had promised to procure for him O'Neill alive or dead, the prisoner may have promised the capture, or the murder, of the great Northern chieftain; but it is absolutely impossible to believe, without other evidence than the assertion of Carewe, that he did so. All that we have in evidence of what Fitz Thomas did promise is contained in the "Relation" itself. Not a syllable therein has reference to any attempt upon the liberty or life of O'Neill; and even the undertaking to procure the submission of his brother and Pierce Lacy was conditional upon their receiving assurance of life and freedom. As to the nature of the proposal made by Carewe there remains no ambiguity; nor would there be any as to the manner of its reception by Fitz Thomas, but for the assertion of the President to Cecyll that he had promised to accomplish it. However the matter may have been, or on whatever portion of it the negotiations fell through, whether he himself became at last conscious of its impracticability, or whether his prisoner shrunk from some one or other of its conditions, it is certain that by the 13th of August the scheme of the Lord President was abandoned; for on that day he wrote to Cecyll that Fitz Thomas was but a "dull spirited traitor," and, as the wind served at last, he had made him over to Sir Anthony Cooke for conveyance to England, and the Lords might dispose of him to their liking:—

CAREWE TO CECYLL. CORK, 13TH OF AUGUST, 1601.

"It may please your Honour, the 6^t of this monethe I dispatched a packett unto you, but the wynde served nott to deliver att sea untill the nynthe. In thatt I wrote thatt by the nexte James Fitz Thomas and Florence M^c Cartie should be sente prisoners into England, w^{ch} nowe is done by this bearer Sir Anthony Cooke your

kinsman, &c. I do likewise send you the examinations of James FitzThomas; he can say little of any worthe, being but a dull spirited traytor, and understandinge no more of his owne business then by his counsaile was put into him. Before Sr Anthony wth his chardge do com to London, I humblye pray you to send a direction whither he shall carry them, thatt they may be disposed of to their Lordships' liking.

Your Honors humbly to serve you

GEORGE CAREWE."

There remains now but to lay before the reader the "Relation" of the Sugan Earl, not precisely as it is printed in the "Pacata Hibernia," but complete, with the sole observation accompanying it by Carewe, and its endorsements, as the reader may see it now amongst H. M. State Papers. Connected with this document is an incident which this writer thinks will have some interest for his reader, though it had evidently none for the author of that history. When the letter left the hand of the prisoner, it was with a signature entirely different from that which it now bears: it was signed "James Desmond." In this Carewe discovered an assertion of his right to the Earldom, and sent it back to be signed otherwise. The unhappy captive had used the signature familiar to him during the three prosperous years of his rebellion. The reader has seen in the letter which Fitz Thomas had written to the Earl of Ormonde, at the commencement of the outbreak in Munster, that when the great rebel his uncle was living, and it was the policy of the English ministers to promote disunion amongst the Fitz Gerald, a promise had been made to him by the Queen that "Justice should be done to his father in the matter of his inheritance, as soon as the usurping Earl of Desmond should be overthrown;" but when the Earl's death occurred, the temptation of so huge a forfeiture as the lands of nearly all the Fitzgeralds, caused the royal promise to be forgotten; but the justice of his father's claim to the earldom had been acknowledged, and a pension promised, and for a quarter of a year paid, in pledge for the fulfilment of such promise. And when, at the demise of Sir Thomas Roe Fitz Gerald, his rights passed to his eldest son, there remained to him no other signature, unless he consented to abandon the Queen's promise and his own birthright, than the one he attached to the Relation which he penned from his prison, and which Carewe rejected. It is remarkable that the President, whose sharp sight so readily detected a claim to the earldom in that signature, should have failed to discover the same claim, and in words identical, in the very first line of the same document:—

RELATION OF JAMES FITZ THOMAS. 2 OF JUNE, 1601.

"The relation of me James Desmond to the Right Honorable Sr George Carewe L. President of Munster, moste humbly beseechinge yo^r Ho: to certefie her Ma^{tie} and the LLs of her moste honorable Counsell of the same, hopinge in the Allmightie that her Highnes of her accustomed clemencie and mercie, by your intercession, will take moste gracious and mercyfull consideration therof, to the ende that her Ma^{ties} realme of Ireland shall be the better planted and maynteyned in good Government by his release.

"Fyrst it maye please yo^r Ho: to consyder that this action at the begynninge was neuer pretended intended nor drawne by me nor by my consent, but by my brother John, and Piers Lacye hauinge the oathes and promyses of dyuers noblemen and gent of this Prouynce to maynteyne the same, and not ever consented unto by me untill Sr Thomas Norreys lefte Kylmallocke, and the Iryshe forces camped at Rekelie in Conno-loghe wher they staye 5 or 6 dayes, the moste parte of the country combyninge and adioyninge to them, and undertoke to holde wth my brother John if I had not come to them. The nexte cessions (before theis proceedinges) at Corke, Sr Thomas Norreys arrested me in persone there, for my brother, he beinge then suspected by him, and intended to keepe me in perpetuall pryson for him, untill I made my escape, by this the intent of Sr Thomas Norreys beinge knowne, the fear and terryfication thereof drew me into this action. And had I byn assured of my liberty, and not clapt up in pryson for my brothers offences, I had never entred into this action. Farther I was bordered wth moste Englishe neighbours of the gent' of this Prouynce. I desye any Englishe that can chardge me wth hynderinge of them ether in bodie or goods, but as many as ever came in my presence I conuayed them awaye from tyme to tyme.

"Also it is to be expected that the Spanyshe forces are to come into Ireland this sommer, and O'Neile will sende up the strongest armye of northerne men into Munster wth my brother John, the L. of Lixnawe, and Piers Lacy; and when they are footed in Munster the moste parte of the cuntry will adioyne unto them. Preuentinge this, and many other circumstances of service, the sauings of my lyff is more beneficiall for her Ma^{tie} then my death, for if it may please her Ma^{tie} to be gracious unto me I will reclaime my brother, the L. of Lixnawe and Piers Lacy if it please her Ma^{tie} to be gracious unto them, or ells so dylligently worke against them wth her Ma^{ties} forces and yo^r dyrections, that they shall not be able to make heade or styrr at all in Munster, for by the sauings of my lyff her Highnes will wynne the hartes in generall of all her subiectes and people in Ireland, my owne seruice, and contynuanee of my allyance in dutyfull sorte all the dayes of their lyffs.

"Farther, I moste humbly beseeche yo^r Honor to foresee that there are three others of my sept and Race alyve. The one is in England my unkle Garret's sonne, James, sett at lybertie by her Ma^{tie} and in hope to extend her Ma^{ty's} fauour; my brother in Ullster; and my cozen Morishe Fitz John in Spayne; wherwth it may be suspected that ether of theis if I were gone, by her Ma^{ty's} fauour might be brought in credyte and restored to the house. It maye therefore please her Ma^{tie} to be gracious unto me assuringe to God and the worlde that I will be trewe and faythfull to her Ma^{tie} duringe lyff, by w^{ch} meanes her Ma^{ty's} Gouernment maye be the better settled, myself and all other my allyance for euer bound to praye for her Ma^{ty's} lyff longe to contynue.

[“JA. DESMONDE,

originally written here, but struck out.]

“JAMES GYERALLDE.

"He first signed his name James Desmond, w^{ch} I sent backe unto him and then he blotted it out and hath written his name in a hand nott accustomed nor yett wth the ortographie w^{ch} before he assumed the name of Erle he wrote, w^{ch} was Fitz Gerald whereby itt apperes how loathe he is to leave the name of Desmond.

“GEORGE CAREWE.”

Dorso, in Carewe's hand. “James M^e Thomas, 1601.

Superscribed. “For Her Ma^{ty's} especiall Affayres,
To the R^t Hono^rable the LLs and others of Her
Ma^{ty's} Honorable Privie [Council]. George Ca-
rewe, 3 Junii 16[01].

Dorso, in Cecyl's hand. “June the 3rd, 1601, Lo.
President of Munster, to the LLs. R[ecceived] the
7th, at Greenwich. S^r G. Caro.

In seeking a signature that would not wound the loyal susceptibility of the Lord President, the prisoner did well not to fall back upon “the one he had used before he assumed the name of Earl.” He had borne that as long as his father lived, but at his death it ceased to be his legitimate signature; and when he submitted to an order which he had no means of resisting, rather than re-assume it, he invented the one of which a facsimile is now presented to the reader (see plate, p. 497, *supra*). Some traces of the name rejected by the President, which he had borne during the brief period of his rebellion, when, to use the words of Carewe himself, “he was the most potent Geraldine that ever was of any of the Earls of Desmond his ancestores,” are still discoverable under the heavy mass of ink with which he endeavoured to efface it.

Of the two other facsimiles which accompany that of Fitz Thomas, one, that of the Queen's Earl, was to the writer as great a novelty as that used for the first and only time by his cousin, then in Shandon Castle. He too had been a captive, and had had to unlearn the signature of his boyhood. For more than twenty years he had been known as “Mr. Garrolde,” although he had been allowed to sign himself “James Fitz Gerald,” and had been taught by his Tower schoolmaster to write it in the clear, scholarly, calm characters which he subsequently used when allowed to assume the designation which his cousin was forced by Carewe to relinquish.

The third of these facsimiles was the signature of a man who, if we may credit Russell's narrative or the history of O'Daly, was the most heroic Geraldine who ever bore that illustrious name! He is familiar to the reader of the history of his time as "the Arch-Traitor;" but as the bearer of the name now before the reader, he is not recognizable; and yet that signature contains in itself an epitome of his political career. It has been seen in the earlier pages of this memoir that his hopes for the overthrow of English rule in Ireland depended mainly upon his procuring a foreign force for an invasion of the country; that to obtain this he had visited most of the Catholic Courts of Europe, and had been received with especial favour and distinction in Spain and Italy, and that from the Pontifical States chiefly he had procured the force which had landed at Smerwick, and which after surrender Lord Grey had deliberately, and in cold blood, butchered. It was in furtherance of his endeavour to obtain foreign aid that he adopted the tradition accredited beyond the Alps, of the Tuscan origin of his race, and assumed a signature such as the more vividly recalled, and more appropriately fitted, the resumption rather than the initiative of a project of the invasion of Ireland, which had been matter of treaty in times not far remote, and which he could represent but as suspended by the death of the eleventh and the domestic troubles of the twelfth Earl of Desmond his ancestors. He signed his name precisely as a cadet of a noble Florentine or Neapolitan family, with whom the Norman "Fitz" was not in use, would have then written, or would now write it; not "Fitz Maurice," nor "Fitz Gerald," nor "James Gerald," but "James of the Geraldines," or, as in the facsimile, "de Geraldini." It is to be noted that the date of the Sugan Earl's signature given in the plate is incorrect; it should read 1601 instead of 1607.

With the great "draft" successfully drawn by the White Knight, and a similar one by Carewe himself upon Florence Mac Carthy, and "the despatch of these two counterfeit Earls of their own making" to be dealt with in England, the connexion of Carewe with his captives terminated; their after life is to be sought for in the records of the great English State prison, the Tower of London; that of Florence Mac Carthy, lasting forty years longer, was ever before the Queen and her successors; for as long as he lived he employed himself in composing endless appeals to Cecyll and to a numerous succession of Secretaries of State after him, in constant demands to be brought to trial "for that no charge had ever been made against him," in unwearied justification of himself, "to the great displeasure of my Lord Clopton" [Carewe], and in a manful fight, from his ever changing prisons, with a multitude of squatters, titled and others, upon his lands. But of his fellow-prisoner, the unfortunate James Fitz Thomas, from the day the Tower gates closed behind him, a single incident only is discovered that may enable us to measure the mind of the man who had undertaken to overthrow the authority of the Sovereign, and to drive the English out of Munster. The Tower bills, which would doubtless have revealed to us the expenses of the last illness of the Sugan Earl, and the cost of his funeral, and of some slab, if any were placed to mark his grave in the Chapel vaults, have perished; and it remains matter of uncertainty how many years his dreary captivity lasted; some say eight—some twelve; but fortunately the accounts sent to the Treasury for diet, &c., of the prisoners at the time of their arrival at the Tower have been preserved, and from them we learn the effect upon the mind of each of them of sudden solitude and of a hopeless future, coming quickly upon the downfall of great fortunes. The bodily health of both gave way; the stronger mind stood firm, the weaker wavered, though we may hope but for a while:—

"The demands of Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Tower of London for one quarter of a year from St Michal's day 1602 till the feast of our Lord God next:—

"For Florence M^c Carthy—

"For the diet and charges of Florence M ^c Carthy for the foresaid 12 weeks and 8 days, at 53 ^s 4 ^d per week	33 ^{li} 6 ^s 8 ^d
"For his washing, and to the Barber, for Apparel and other necessaries	7 ^{li} 13 ^s 6 ^d
"Item for physicke, Surgeon, and one to attend him in his sick- ness	8 ^{li} 17 ^s 3 ^d

"For James M^c Thomas—

"Sayd tyme at 3^{li} per week, physicke, Sourgceon, and Watcher with
him in his Lunacy."

Other similar bills, sent in quarterly till Lady-day, A. D. 1604, are extant, at which time both prisoners were removed—one to the Gatehouse, and thence to the Fleet, and the other to the Marshalsea.

Mr. Lodge asserts that the Earl died in 1608, and was interred in the Chapel of the Tower, having been attained the 10th of March, 1600. He married Ellen, daughter of the White Knight, but had no issue. The few particulars that have reached us of the after history of John, the brother of James Fitz Thomas, and of the biography of Garrett, the son of John, the last of the direct male issue of James Fitz John, will not be without interest for the reader, more especially as it chanced that the last descendant of this princely race found himself dependant upon the patronage of the writer who placed them on record—one of the humbler of the followers of his house—for the title which established his social position, and enabled him to obtain service in the army of the Emperor, in which his life was spent.

“John sailed away for Spain, and lived there for some years; but in a fashion no wise adequate to his princely birth. The King, urged thereto by the envy of his courtiers, allowed him but a very slender pension, forgetful, as it would seem, of what was due to a child of the great Geraldine. He soon afterwards died, leaving a son who was called Garrett, whom the King of Spain, at my instance, promoted to the dignity and title of Count. . . . The loved youth, created Count, at my instance, did not tarry long in the land of Spain; the scanty pension allowed him by the King was not commensurate with the dignity and rank which belonged to the heir of Desmond. In fact he saw that many Irish, then at the King's court, were preferred to him, and these were men who could not dare to compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore, choosing rather to trust to fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and taking service in his Casarian Majesty's army, served him well and chivalrously for three years; but at last, when he had the command of a strong town, then besieged, he was called on to surrender; this he refused to do, choosing rather to die of starvation than betray his trust. Thus did his career terminate.”

In concluding his history, and striving to account for the “overthrow and extermination of the Geraldines, notwithstanding all they had endured for religion,” the historian can only attribute it to the inscrutable ways of God; but he points to three principal crimes which he suggests may have brought Divine vengeance upon them. 1st—The murder of James Fitz Thomas (9th) Earl of Desmond, in his castle of Rathkeale, as some suspect, by his brother John; 2nd—The horrid murder of James Fitz Maurice, by Maurice Duv; and 3rd—All the cruel acts of rapacity and blood committed against the Mac Carthys. (O'Daly's “Hist. of the Geraldines;” translated by Rev. C. P. Meehan).

Mr. Lodge writes that the son of John (Garrett) died in Germany in 1632 leaving no issue; “so that,” he adds, “in him ended the heirs male of the four eldest sons of Thomas, the 8th Earl of Desmond.” In concluding this very brief memoir of James Fitz Thomas, it may be permitted to repeat the passage from the letter of his captor, which contains an epitaph not unworthy of the last of these great Anglo-Irish Earls and Chieftains. “He was brought,” says the Lord President, “by Sir George Thornton, with a good guard, to my house, where, in irons, he remayneth; out of the w^h I dare not els trust him to be kept; being (as he is) a man the most generally beloved by all sortes (as well in this towne as in the country) that in my life I have knowen.”

CORRIGENDA.

Page 5, line 44, *for* 1865 *read* 1866.

— 515, in the heading, *for* THE EARLS OF DESMOND *read* UNPUBLISHED GERALDINE DOCUMENTS.

— 517 to 529, in the heading, *for* THE EARLS OF DESMOND, *read* APPENDIX.

— 530, line 56, *for* Geraldine's *read* Geraldines.

— 554, — 33, *for* Matie's *read* Maties.

PEDIGREE OF FITZGERALD, KNIGHT OF KERRY; FITZGERALD, SENESCHAL OF IMOKILLY; AND OF FITZGERALD OF CLOYNE IN IMOKILLY.

ADDENDA.

AFTER I had finished the above-mentioned Pedigree in October, 1875, and after the last revise had gone to press, I was sent a short printed account (drawn up, I believe, for the Dublin University Museum), of the fine old Irish harp to which Mr. Graves has alluded in a note to p. 537. In this account we are told that the harp was made for Sir John FitzEdmund FitzGerald of Cloyne, and that his arms, impaled with those of his wife, Ellen Barry, having the boar crest above them, are well carved upon it, as as an inscription in Irish, which has been translated as follows, by Eugene O'Curry. The instrument, according to an old Gaelic custom, is made to tell its own history, as though it were animated:—

“These are they who were servitors to John FitzEdmond [FitzGerald], at Clauin [Cloyne], at the time that I was made, viz., the steward there was James FitzJohn, and Maurice Walsh was our superintendent, and Dermot FitzJohn wine butler, and Philip FitzDonnell was cook there, Anno Domini 1621.

“Tiegue O'Ruarc was chamberlain there, and James Russell was house marshal, and Maurice FitzThomas and Maurice FitzEdmund, these were all discreet attendants upon him. Philip FitzTiegue Magrath was tailor there, Donnchadh FitzTeigue was his carpenter; it was he that made me.

“Giollapatrik Mac Cridan was my musician and harmonist; and if I could have found a better him should I have, and Dermot Mac Cridan along with him, two highly accomplished men whom I had to nurse me. And on every one of them may God have mercy on all.”

On another part of the instrument is carved in Roman letters, “I^oE. & E. B. ME FIERI FECERUNT. EGO SUM REGINA CITHARARUM.”

I have not had an opportunity of examining this harp, which was undoubtedly made at Cloyne, in the lifetime of Sir John FitzEdmund. If it was his property, the carvings on it would seem to show that he used the boar crest which is on his half-brother the Seneschal's tomb at Ballyvoughterah Abbey (v. Pedigree sheet, note *b*), rather than the knight on horseback, which is carved on his brother's residence, Castle Ishin. But it is quite probable that the Cloyne Knights used both these crests, or either of them indifferently. The boar crest seems to have been borne by James the Arch Traitor, the maternal grandfather of the half-brothers at Cloyne and Ballymartyr; and their followers would naturally prefer it to all other as a memorial of him and of Desmond.

The tomb of Sir John FitzEdmond's daughter, the wife of the nineteenth Lord Kerry, as well as the little FitzMaurice chapel in which it stands at the north-east side of Ardfert Cathedral, are in a very dilapidated condition. The Cathedral is now, with other National Monuments, being partially repaired and strengthened under the direction of a skilful architect employed by the Board of Works; but the tomb will probably be left to the care of the families to whom it belongs, or is considered to belong. The following inscription is carved round the slab which covers the upper portion of it:—

“This monument was erected and chapple (*sic*) re-edified in the year 1668 by the Right Honorable Honora Lady Dowager of Kerry for herself, her children, and their posterity only, according to her agreement with the Dean and Chapter.”

Smith, in his “History of Kerry,” written in 1756, and Archdeacon Rowan, Miss Cusack, and others, in their notices of Ardfert, give the date in this inscription as 1688,

but it is plainly 1668, as indeed might be expected. The first dozen years after the Restoration were the only ones, between 1641 and the close of her long and changeful life in 1688, in which Honora Lady Kerry had a respite from many sorrows, anxieties, and fears for the fortunes of her husband, children, brother, and nephews. In 1688, as appears by her will, she was in absolute poverty. Hereafter I hope to be able to give a short sketch of her life, and the curious circumstances which probably led her to purchase this tomb and to record her title so emphatically in the inscription. The lower part of the tomb where Lady Honora lies is in good repair, and has, of late years, been used as a burial-place by the Crosbie family; but the front slab of the upper portion, in which only one body it is said has ever lain, is broken, and a woman's skull, with long, flowing hair still clinging to it, and several bones, are visible. I am sorry to say that the people have for years been in the habit of dragging out these ghastly relics, and displaying them for amusement, and for money, to visitors. It is said that they are part of the embalmed remains of Anne, Countess of Kerry, the daughter of Sir William Petty, and the friend of Swift. There is an old local tradition, related with an amusing emphasis, and an evident sympathy, by certain old inhabitants of Clannaurice, to the effect that this Anne, Countess of Kerry, was much displeased when some of the family of her son-in-law, Sir Maurice Crosbie, were interred in the lower part of the tomb; which she rightly considered was, with the whole chapel, designed as a memorial of the FitzMaurices only, and that she directed that she should be buried in the upper "*storey*" of the tomb, which in such structures is usually left empty, saying (with a spirit worthy of her husband's warlike ancestors, or his kinsman the captive but unsubdued Earl of Desmond "still on the necks of the Butlers") that "*living or dead she would be above the Crosbies !!!*" The FitzMaurice arms are sculptured on a small stone shield which hangs under the east window of the little chapel, opposite the tomb; but the centaur crest, or the coronet, which evidently stood over the shield, has been broken off, apparently with some violence. It would be a good work if the present Marquis of Lansdowne ordered the restoration or repair of this FitzMaurice Chapel, or at least of the tomb within it, and saved the remains of the distinguished lady, through whom he inherits the Shelbourne estates, from a desecration which it is painful to witness.

M. A. H.

Addition to note, page 537.

This harp, which for many years was preserved in the Dalway family, has now passed into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, and is deposited in their Museum. There is a model of the harp in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin. On the Harp are the initials I^GE. & E. B. ME FIERI FECERUNT, *i.e.* "John [Fitz] Edmund [Fitz] Gerald and Ellen Barry, caused me to be made. Under the Royal Shield on the bow are carved the armorial bearings of Sir John FitzEdmund—Ermine, a saltire gules, a crescent for difference; crest, on a helmet, a boar fretty: motto, "*Virescit vulnere virtus.*" With these are impaled the arms of Barry, and the motto of that family, "*Bontez en avant.*" Upon the inside of the bow is inscribed "*Donatus filius Thadei me fecit.*"—JAMES GRAVES.

CORRIGENDA.

For "William Knight of Kerry, living in 1405," read, "William Knight of Kerry, living in 1465."

For "Earl of Inchiquin, the distinguished general of 1643-9," read, "Earl of Inchiquin, the distinguished general of 1641-9."

For "failing the descendants of Edmund of Ballymaloo, in 1670," read, "failing the descendants of Edmund of Ballymaloo, in 1641."

For "Edmund (son of John K. of Kerry) died *s.p.* in 1660," read, "Edmund died *s.p.* in 1676."